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**ON DIALOGUES BETWEEN ROMAN
CATHOLIC AND EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN
THEOLOGAINS**

K. E. SKYDSGAARD

**THE EVANGELICAL POSSIBILITIES OF
ROMAN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY**

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

**MELANCHTHON AS AUTHOR OF THE
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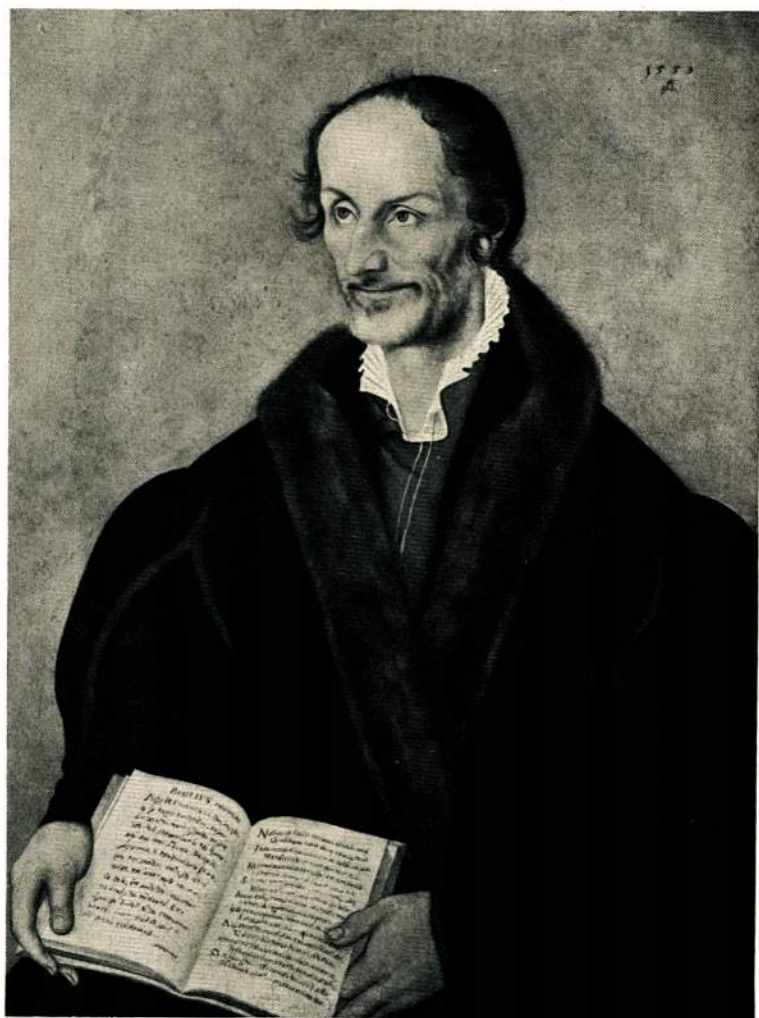
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philipp Melancthon.

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TO DR. FRANKLIN CLARK FRY

THE LUTHERAN WORLD, the official organ of the Lutheran World Federation, joins in extending to you its congratulations on the occasion of your 60th birthday, August 30, 1960. The editorial staff of the journal of such a large church movement certainly is in a special way conscious of the needs of our churches and the points at which cooperation is lacking; but it also knows where the strength and the creative impulses come from.

The times in which you hold the highest office of the Lutheran World Federation are times of greater political, spiritual and ecclesiastical crisis than ever before. We are becoming more conscious of the questions to which new answers must be found, answers which cannot simply be derived from tradition but which nevertheless must prove themselves in the light of the great history of the Lutheran Reformation.

It appears that the demands placed upon the President of a world-wide organisation in this situation often surpass the humanly possible. But, just at this point, we are confident, Mr. President, that in your person you combine those rarely compatible gifts of prudence and determination. The Lord certainly had good reason for calling you just at this time to your high and difficult office. We therefore ask the Lord to preserve you in this great work. Many good and willing helpers in every country collaborate with you in fulfilling the commission which he has given to his church, namely to bring his peace to this world.

May the Lord and Master of the church continue to bless both you and your work.

HANS BOLEWSKI

On Dialogues Between Roman Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran Theologians

K. E. SKYDSGAARD

THE FOLLOWING PAGES are not intended as a detailed report on the diverse dialogues taking place between Catholics and Protestants. Furthermore, they are not an outline of the work program of the new Commission for Interconfessional Research which was founded by the LWF and which was reported on in the last issue of the *Lutheran World*. This work is just beginning, and for the time being its opportunities to influence interconfessional conversations are very modest. For this reason it is much too early to comment here upon the manner and content of the work. This must come later. We are happy that a new opportunity for interconfessional research has been opened up, and with it the possibility of making a contribution to interconfessional discussions. Research and discussion belong together. Interconfessional research which does not lead in some way to discussion stops half-way, and discussions which do not rest on research are nothing more than irresponsible talk. It is our hope that from such modest beginnings a fundamental and thorough study and a constructive work might more and more result.

I.

Discussions between Roman Catholic and Evangelical Protestant theologians have something paradoxical about them which implies a constant sense of dissatisfaction, a compulsion toward lucidity and clarity, which is, however, never completely fulfilled. There is a puzzling element in these discussions which we are not quite capable of solving, perhaps even a mystery which always brings us to a stand-still. When we no longer experience this mystery then we have, in the deepest sense, reached the end as far as these discussions are concerned. Certainly there might be many things about which we could still talk, but the real character of our discussions would then have been fundamentally changed. When the relationship between the two parties consists of a clear "no," then our discussions have lost their final "disturbing" character, this is also the case when the "no" has more or less consciously been transformed into a mutual "yes." Where, in contrast, both the "yes" and "no" occur, the discussions are never fully resolved. This simultaneous "yes" and "no" does not imply an inconsistent or non-decisive wavering, nor does it mean that faith no longer has the character of an *assertio*; this simultaneous "yes" and "no" is very appropriate so long as the mystery involved in our doctrinal divisions has not been resolved. As long as

this is the case both must occur simultaneously, and this always implies suffering and hardship. Should we no longer experience this suffering and hardship and with it something of the burden of the whole thing, then we can naturally have a number of important things to say to one another; we can be very busy exchanging information, but in the final analysis we are no longer carrying on discussions of the kind to which we are referring here. Whether this means that such discussions must be a rare occurrence is very difficult to say. That such discussions do take place, and not the least between non-theologians as well, is undeniable.

Naturally, we would like to bring all of our discussions to a definite successful conclusion. The unrest which they imply is something other than an aesthetic-romantic joy in eternal restlessness. Indeed, every discussion aims at a goal. That means that it seeks to be concluded either in a clear "no" or in a clear "yes." This is, to a certain extent, demanded by logical and by general human reasonableness. In a sense, history and the character of our time make a similar demand: there is a time for opposing opinions, but these cannot eternally perpetuate themselves unless there is an inner desire to do so. For this reason, there are confessional discussions which no longer have the time, which have become impatient because they feel that we must finally arrive at a result: we must present a united front. Or: the discussion must finally end in a clear "no."

There is a form of interconfessional discussion which goes so slowly as to be offensive. Its slowness is taken to be indecision or perhaps even intellectual laziness (which in certain instances might be the case!). However, such an interpretation fails to realize how very much these conversations themselves, if I may express myself in this way, suffer because they do not come to a conclusion. And yet we must, with real intensity, refuse to be too hasty. Those who do not understand this, do not understand the mystery involved in interconfessional discussions. As long as this mystery is not removed, and no man can remove it, the discussions must continue with their "yes" and their "no." The struggle between these two and with these two must be endured, even though by the few alone. The question could be asked "why must it be this way?". The answer lies, as far as I can see, in the very nature of our doctrinal divisions.

II.

It is a singular fact that the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran churches have never been able to free themselves from one another. They are bound together by fate, and despite their profound differences cannot do without one another. The period of the Reformation already evidences two tendencies which continually struggled with one another: on the one hand, a mutual rejection which found expression in terms such as 'heresy,' 'anti-Christ,' 'revolt,' and 'satanic error'; on the other hand, the consciousness that the church is one and

can only be one because Christ is one, and the conviction that "it is dangerous and terrible to hear and to believe anything which contradicts the unanimous witness, faith and doctrine of the whole Christian church, as it was from the beginning held unanimously throughout the world for 1500 years" (Luther).¹ The *Confessio Augustana* understood that Christendom had been rent by a serious schism in the holy faith and the Christian religion, and the author understood the significance of the fact that "*res illae ad unam simplicem veritatem et christianam concordiam componuntur et reducuntur... utque quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, ita in una etiam ecclesia cristiana unitate et concordia vivere possimus.*"²

The idea of two, or perhaps even more, churches, divided from one another, was totally foreign to the reformers; to call a church "Lutheran" was an abomination to Luther himself. There was only one holy, catholic and apostolic church in which a terrible struggle had continually to be fought, because the true Christian church, the *regnum dei* is always assailed by the false church, the *regnum diaboli*. In this instance, the false church was represented by the names "Rome" and "the papacy," with their abuses and false doctrine. In the opinion of the reformers, it was their God-given task to fight not against the one church but against Rome and yet the break came, not at once, but, so to speak, in stages, until various church groups, isolated from one another, the so-called confessions, resulted as more or less finished products. However, even the formation of independent churches or confessions which differ from one another not only theologically but sociologically, politically and culturally, has never led to a situation in which the "confessional question" has been resolved or in which the wounds caused by these breaks have been healed. The problem of Roman Catholic versus Evangelical Lutheran has not been solved to this very day. Behind all attempts to resolve this puzzle lay, and still lies, a mystery which cannot be explained by theological interpretations, regardless how profound they might be. On both sides the painful awareness of the division of Christendom has continued in varying degrees, but yet in such a way that the bitterness of the break and the vulnerability in mutual relationships have never been overcome. We, on both sides, can never forget that our individual existence as churches occurred through a break of great depth, accompanied by angry conversations and mutual accusations. We cannot forget that the man who stood in the foreground in this matter was officially excommunicated by Rome and that this very man regarded the pope as the anti-Christ. The power of the papacy never, as Luther had hoped, diminished, nor was the "Lutheran heresy," as was hoped from the Roman side, merely an ephemeral German affair of short duration. Instead, events took a quite different course.

Neither side dare forget that the Reformation, regardless what opinion one holds in respect to it, involved basic decisions as perhaps never before in the

¹ W. A. 30, III, p. 552, 12 f. (in an open letter to Duke Albert of Prussia, 1532).

² Preface to the Augsburg Confession.

history of the church. To forget this, in this ecumenical epoch in which we now live, could so neutralize the whole thing that our subsequent activities are no longer taken seriously. Despite all of those things which must be counted as non-theological factors, belonging to the realm of the human, in fact the all too human, and which must even be acknowledged as sin, the essential content of the Reformation originated in an experience of profound depth—the experience of a man standing alone before God. Here I would like to cite a quotation by the German historian Hermann Hempel:

Again and again the question of the origins of the Reformation is being raised and the state of the church in the decades preceding the Reformation is being investigated. The confusion and corruption which existed in the church of the late Middle Ages were not causes of the Reformation but rather the conditions which extended the influence of Luther's views. The Reformation had one single cause, the religious need of the monk Martin Luther, a need which had historical consequences because it provided an answer to a universal need.³

In the midst of this, one has the feeling that this has not always been taken seriously enough on both sides. The fact that a lively confrontation between Roman Catholic and Lutheran theology is taking place today cannot be denied, and is a cause for rejoicing. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that discussions of like intensity, such a mutual questioning and exchange, have never taken place between the confessions since the Reformation. I will return to this topic later. Here I want merely to underscore the fact that every convergence of opinion is, in the last analysis, futile, if no attempt is made to deal with the depths in which the Reformation is really rooted. We long for unity within Christendom. How, then, could we desire that the realization of this unity should be such a long time in coming? If this longing does not live in us, then we have certainly lagged behind the reformers who knew that the church, that is Christianity on earth, was and must be one.

But unity can mean different things. There can never be unity at any price. There can never be unity merely for the sake of unity. Such a unity could be a miracle of the anti-Christ. It might be a completely false unity which God himself would destroy in his power and his grace. Real unity is unity in the cross of Christ (Ephesians 2:11 f.). Unity between Roman Catholics and Evangelical Lutherans can never be any other kind of unity, which means, however, that we must go to the very depths, since the Reformation, in the last analysis, was a struggle over the interpretation of the work of Christ. Any desire to take an easier path, even though for very understandable reasons, such as weariness or impatience, will never lead to true union, but only to a pseudo-unity which can only last overnight and dare not last any longer. Other churches may desire to take an easier path, one which is, perhaps, less full of thorns but, as far as agreement and unity between the parties about whom we are speaking here is concerned, we will not be spared the more troublesome way.

³ *Vier Kapitel aus der Deutschen Geschichte*. Göttingen, 1960. P. 49.

This course of action brings with it the promise and the joy that we will have been led to the final and deepest Christian truths, to questions of justification, the redemption in Christ and the genuine understanding of faith and the church. The fundamental axiom underlying the Reformation forces us on to those things of ultimate importance. It is not necessary here to describe this basic tenet in detail. It must not be confused with some kind of "Protestant principle," but has to do with a particular "act of seeing," or, perhaps even better, with a distinct act of listening to the voice of the Bible, an act which, in the last analysis, involves the relationship between God and man, the knowledge by created and sinful man of God the Creator and Redeemer, and God's recognition of his fallen creation. This means that what is at stake here is nothing less than the most important of all Christian and theological themes which have ever been or ever will be involved. This is what is of value and is so promising in this struggle. Without it our mutual conversations would be empty and without promise.

III.

Even in this time of ecumenism there is no lack of voices which describe these interconfessional discussions as meaningless and without purpose. The abyss is too great for really genuine conversations to take place. If such conversations nevertheless do take place, it is only because we are not clear about the total difference between the confessions or perhaps because we are not able to clarify our thinking at this point. Professor Joseph Klein in Göttingen has passed devastating judgment on the situation of interconfessional discussions as it stands today.¹ I believe that there are many on the Roman Catholic side as well as the Lutheran side who think this way and, not least, some on the mission field.

I believe that we dare not neglect these voices. They represent a warning which is perhaps very necessary even today. From the human point of view these conversations are hopeless. When we read or hear statements from certain ecumenical circles which stress that great differences *still* do exist, that we are *still* separated from one another by a considerable distance, we often get the impression that the actual unity of the church is almost an accomplished fact, and that the only thing we need is patience. Here we must think realistically and guard ourselves against a naive optimism or a pragmatic desire for unity. The question whether such conversations can really be carried on must be earnestly raised; have the presuppositions for such conversations perhaps so diminished that it might be better and more honest to admit that they have become theologically impossible? We have only to think of the development of the Roman Catholic Church during the last century, of the dogma of the infallibility of the pope, and of the two dogmas concerning Mary, or of the development of Marian

¹ *Evangelische Theologie*, February 1960.

piety, recommended and furthered by the last popes, which in many respects seems quite un-evangelical to us. In contrast to these realities to which we have perhaps too easily accustomed ourselves, what is the significance of the new streams within Catholic theology? And on the other hand, Catholics could cite very great developments in the Protestant world, especially in the last century which show how far many Protestants have come from the biblical and Reformation understanding of Christianity; how Christology has been impoverished, how the sacraments are in danger of dissolution to the benefit of the word, and the extent to which the idea of the church has lost its real significance. These are some of the more obvious points which could be mentioned. But one could go further and ask whether our differences do not lie on a much deeper level, namely, in a different understanding of religious truth, and in the consequent differences of theological language as these have been formed and fostered in opposite directions throughout the centuries. Our traditions on both sides have formed and shaped our experiences and theological knowledge, in fact our very understanding of what is actually meant by revelation in quite different ways. *Summa summarum*: would it not be better to put an end to these conversations and to content ourselves with the mere exchange of information?

From a very different direction comes another objection to interconfessional discussions which must be mentioned here.

It has been said that interconfessional discussions are out of date; that we must free ourselves from the former confessional ways of stating the problem and make a new start. Really ecumenical theology, it is said, implies a theology which starts from an entirely new perspective, one which puts the themes of old controversies in a new light. Only in this way can progress be made. We must free ourselves from the old confessional particularism. Modern man differs greatly from the man of the Middle Ages. He is faced with completely new problems and new discoveries have radically changed the situation. What was important in the Middle Ages has today faded into the background. To think confessionally and to think ecumenically are mutually exclusive. The confessional approach means that we have forgotten that the church is the wandering people of God, who are not permitted to remain at one and the same place. The confessional approach implies static and faint-hearted ways of thinking. We must have the courage to rise up and to take a fresh approach in our conversations with one another.

But this line of thought overlooks some important factors, as closer investigation will show. Confession can mean two things: in the first place it means that the truth is confessed in a particular historical situation. To confess means so to know or to acknowledge something that one is ready to give one's life for it. But there is another element involved in confession: the variously formulated opinions and doctrinal statements whereby a church differentiates itself from other churches. Confession can be colored by static, final and definitive characteristics. It also includes an element of bourgeois consolidation. Confessional

churches can become finished and final structures restricting themselves to one particular doctrinal position which is settled once for all time. In this sense, the word 'confession' has something pejorative about it, in fact, something which is impossible in a Christian sense. Nevertheless the western European and American Lutheran churches have suffered much and still suffer therefrom. Many non-theological factors are involved in such confessionalism.

We must always be critical of this form of "confession." Confession in this sense has very often little to do with that for which our fathers fought in the Reformation. We cannot free ourselves from our confessional backgrounds, to be sure, but we must attempt to press forward to that which is essential, to the point at which real confession is demanded. Should it become evident that our confessional positions have lost their significance in our time, then we must earnestly consider whether it is not irresponsible from both a Christian and a theological perspective to maintain a particular church; the non-theological facts do not in themselves justify its perpetuation.

Should it, however, become evident that our confessional positions are really filled with inner content, that here a fire is kept alive, even though under ashes, then "confessional" acquires a new meaning. It is not something antiquated, which only possesses historical significance, but it is truth which must always be confessed anew, truth whose primary purpose is not to differentiate one church from another, but which exists for the sake of the universal church. Genuine truth is always universal or catholic. Certainly a great deal has changed, and certainly the truth must be appropriated anew, and perhaps it must be expressed in a different manner, but this does not change the fact that here something is given to us which both compels us and frees us, something which we cannot avoid. That truth which was once so important that men were ready to die for it has certainly not lost its "actuality," but it is just as valid today even though it must be understood in a new way and even though it makes new demands.

"Confessional," in the true sense of the word, means the will to confess today a truth which was of pressing importance in a particular historical situation of the church and which is just as urgent today, since it constitutes an illumination and a revival of the salvation which God has given to us in Christ Jesus. To know this and to be confessional in this sense does not contradict the true ecumenical spirit. To be ecumenical does not mean that being "confessional," in this sense, has been superseded, even though it does imply a critical attitude in regard to our "confessionalism."

We must always very carefully consider whether our possession of a certain truth which was passed on to us through the history of the church really represents a true and genuine relationship, or whether we are only holding it because of the power of inertia, without a real inner necessity to do so. When our relationship to truth is genuine because we have become convinced of it as a legitimate explanation of the biblical message, then confessional conversations have not been antiquated but must always be taken up anew, not only for our own sake,

but also for the sake of others, and finally for the sake of the true unity of the church. These discussions between Roman Catholics and Protestant Lutherans must not end. In the last analysis, these conversations belong not to them alone, but to the entire church. To be "confessional" in this sense is to be truly ecumenical.

IV.

Today, especially, these conversations, which were never completely abandoned, have been taken up again with great enthusiasm. They must be ready to stand vigorous criticism and to allow themselves to be examined carefully at any time. They must be aware of their questionable character and of their vulnerability, as well as of the fact that they are hopeless when only seen from a human point of view. But despite this they must continue to perform a necessary and a good work. Furthermore, the joy of confrontation which they bring must be preserved. Such confrontation has become inevitable. Roman Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran Christians must live together in the same political, cultural and religious spheres, where the most diverse components intersect and where different confessions must face the same problems. The period of isolation has conclusively passed. In a situation of this kind, it is no longer in our power to hinder such conversations. For people will meet one another, will raise questions and will allow themselves to be questioned about their faith, and their Christian convictions. The weather and business affairs cannot always be the topics of conversation. The relationships between Christians are, in the last analysis, more than a mere question of civic tolerance. We are on both sides engaged in the same truth. Naturally we can refuse to participate in a real dialogue with others by hardening our confessionalistic positions on both sides, or by defining our differences in such a negative manner that it is absolutely impossible to initiate or even to dare to initiate such conversations. However, if we do not undertake such conversations someone else will. They will necessarily be carried on. Our duty is to think through as carefully as possible the conditions for such discussion.

There is a form of conversation in which no confrontation takes place. The words which we use are not 'direct,' but evasive words, with which we, consciously or unconsciously, try to escape one another. Conversations devoid of genuine confrontation are merely entertainment whereby men use words in order, legitimately or illegitimately, to get rid of one another. In any case, such words have no authority behind them. They are perhaps prompted by friendliness, because we do not want to hurt the other person, perhaps by fear, because we do not dare to call others to account, and furthermore do not wish to assume any responsibility ourselves, perhaps by indifference, because we really have no interest in the other person at all and feel no responsibility for him. Interconfessional conversations

must not be conducted in this manner; if so it would be better to discontinue them immediately. In genuine conversation the words used are remarkably direct, whether this takes place in a very concrete conversation between two or more persons or in the inner conversations which take place in myself, when I consider the inner dialectic of a thing.

There is, to be sure, a form of conversation in which words appear to be "direct," but are not at all genuine, because I have second thoughts. I do not take the other person seriously, instead I want something from him. I have a direct purpose behind my words, namely to gain power over the other person. The words used can be ever so brutal, or perhaps loving and trusting, but the conversation is and remains impure. It is much more an attempt to convert the other person than it is a conversation in which I seek the truth, or in which I seek to go more deeply into the truth. It can be likened to some kind of a pro-paedeutic exercise with the other person as an object, an exercise which slowly proceeds towards its goal with an almost biological necessity. The conversations about which we are talking here must not be conducted in this manner under any circumstances. They are fatal to the other person and, in the last analysis, to ourselves.

Conversations can be an exercise in another sense, namely in that I use them as an opportunity to exercise my own abilities. I wish to have more insight, not in order to come closer to the truth, but in order to become more skillful. These two are not unequivocally the same thing. I do not take the other person seriously at all. I only appear to engage in mutual conversation in order to discover the secret of the other person. This is useful for further dealings with him: conversation becomes a piece of strategy. This sounds terribly brutal, but it need not be quite so brutal in real life, in fact, in many cases it occurs quite unconsciously and quite "innocently."

There is a form of conversation which is very direct, because of the bluntness with which it is conducted. We talk very directly and very clearly because we really do not understand too much about what we are saying, or because the concepts which are at our disposal are somewhat simple and massive. We set up theses, and wait for the other person to set up contradictory theses, in order for us to repeat our own theses once again. We call this clarity, and it is very clear indeed! How often have confessional conversations been conducted in this manner!

There is also a form of conversation whose sole purpose is to reveal in a critical way the mistakes and weaknesses of others. Such conversations never pass the stage of mutual criticism, and if we are successful in driving the other person to the wall, then our conversations have been 'successful.' The other person had to finally 'give in.' The words appear to be 'direct' but they are not *good* words. One partner is always afraid of the other, because he fears the purpose behind his opponent's words. I must always protect myself, by being very careful that the other person does not notice any kind of uncertainty in me,

and I must always attempt to discover his weak points. This is a caricature of genuine conversation, but unfortunately it is not an unusual occurrence, even in the area of interconfessional conversations.

There is a form of conversation which is very difficult to define. It does and must occur very seldom. Though such conversation can be a very diabolical thing, it might also be a very good word. This is the conversation of the angry word.

The individual who speaks in anger speaks directly to his opposite, and thus takes him seriously in a very singular manner. He who is truly angry does not speak on his own, but because he must speak in this way. He is dealing with a definite personality, to be sure, but in the last analysis, is concerned with much more than the individual. What is at stake is the falsehood which has somehow become identified with this person. What is said holds true, of course, for the individual, but in a deeper sense it holds true for others, for whom the angry speaker feels himself responsible. A "conversation" of this kind is a rare occurrence, and only a very few are given this right. There are, however, situations where this kind of conversation in anger is demanded. Luther's dialogue with Roman Catholic theologians, with the princes of the church, and even with the pope of his day, was a conversation in anger. We, who do not find ourselves in the same deep water into which Luther was thrown, but who in peace and security never venture out beyond the place where we feel the solid earth beneath our feet, cannot understand this. Instead we shrink back as before a mystery, and it is a mystery! Luther never wanted to carry on an angry conversation with the church. In the light of his principles how could he have even wanted to do so? The church was for him the body of Christ, and it would be dangerous and frightening to hear or to say anything against its unanimous witness, faith and teaching. At this point we must believe Luther. For him the pope was not the church, but the representative of the anti-Christ instead. Therefore he was forced to speak in anger. He was concerned with the sheep who belong to the one good shepherd. What was at stake was not the pope himself, but that which he represented. It appears to us as if Luther went too far. To Luther himself it appeared as if he had not gone far enough. Everyone must judge this matter himself as he is able. At any rate, Luther spoke as one who had, in some way, been confronted and therefore had to obey.

The pope answered Luther with that "objective" anger with which a ruler punishes his disobedient subordinates and issued the bull of excommunication against him. In the last analysis, more than the personality of Luther was involved here. In the interests of others, that is for the sake of the faithful, the pope stamped him as a heretic, and thereby locked him out of the church. We cannot, within the confines of this essay, explain why, in our opinion, the truth was at stake in Luther's angry conversations; here it is important to show that such angry conversations were motivated by a sense of responsibility for the truth and for God's church on earth, on both sides.

We are the heirs of this angry dialogue and this should make us stop and think. This brings us once more back to the question: how can we today, Roman Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran theologians, carry on discussions with one another? What are the characteristics of genuine interconfessional conversations today?

The old polemic during the period directly following the Reformation had a certain pathos about it. Its learning and sagacity was to be envied. It was often prompted by genuine passion, but it was more of a monologue than a dialogue; a monologue whose critical barbs were almost always directed against others. They were taken seriously only in their capacity as opponents. This polemic was clear but not superficial: here was the truth, the rest was error.

In periods of somewhat more irenical relationships, such as in the epoch of Romanticism, the form was different, to be sure, but the results were about the same; real conversation is neither possible nor necessary, for on this basis, the various confessions are only various individuations of the one Christendom. The diversity of denominations was a sign of the richness of Christianity and thus could not be regarded as tragic. The divisions were widely regarded as aesthetic ones. For this reason no real conversations took place. The question of the relationship between Catholicism and Evangelical Lutheran Christianity appeared to be solved once and for all. The important thing here was merely a question of how to adjust correctly to one another. This "irenical attitude" forgets that the truth for which our fathers on both sides fought is just as much alive and demanding today as it was then.

Thus the transformation which the old polemical symbolics underwent in the 18th and 19th centuries, a transformation into a historically descriptive, but basically non-theological, study of denominations cannot meet with theological approval. To be sure, introductory historical studies of denominations are an indispensable presupposition without which no theological conversations can ever begin. We must make the utmost effort to understand others as they understand themselves. For a long time we must merely listen, receive passively and raise questions again and again, in order to be able to understand. Often we must keep silent for a long time before we are ready to begin talking. It is often very painful when one partner in a conversation believes that he has so much to say that he, despite all good intentions, no longer listens to the others. Too often we have not made the effort to understand the other person from within, and this is a fault of both sides, to be sure. The truth which another person holds is aristocratic in this sense, that it does not reveal itself to those who are merely curious, but only to those who really make the effort to understand, only to him who does not spare himself any effort.

We dare not allow ourselves to be frightened by the very complex picture which the other side presents. We know how complex, even to the point of being contradictory, the Roman Catholic Church is, and we also know how desperately divergent Lutheranism today is. We dare not side-step this complexity, by

centering upon a certain historical perspective or upon a certain principle which appears, perhaps with good reason, to be that which characterizes the whole and which is the only valid thing in the other church. Reality is often very illogical and contradictory. This makes the job of understanding much more difficult, but in the end much more enriching. We must demand of ourselves that we do not draw far-reaching and final consequences too quickly, and we should be allowed to expect the same of others. Studies of the historical development of ideas and systematic phenomenological investigations are absolutely necessary preparatory studies for interconfessional conversations themselves, and in general they go hand in hand. However, we dare not stop with the realm of the phenomenological but we must go on to the realm of the dogmatic and thus to interconfessional conversations. Otherwise the whole undertaking will, in the end, become as harmless as it is non-essential.

Genuine conversations must be honest, and this, in itself, is a bold venture. To be honest means that we do not hide our agreement or our disagreement. It also means that we have the courage to admit our own insecurity, if such really exists, and this insecurity need not be merely one of "method." It could even be very real. We cannot conceal the fact that today the threat which nihilism and atheism pose is no longer a matter of "method," but it is a very real thing and always will be. If the theologians, perhaps, do not acknowledge this or shrink away from admitting it, then they should at least know that this threat and the confusion it brings is not "methodological," but genuinely painful for thousands of Catholic and Protestant Christians. At this point a genuine conversation dares to be open and honest. Why should we fear or be ashamed of our insecurity or the fact that we are being threatened? The fact that we are afraid may naturally have its ground in our inner pride, but may also, however, root in a more or less justified fear that other people will misunderstand our insecurity, exploit it and use it to their own benefit.

To be honest means also that we dare to make this self-confession: Here in humility and joy I have learned something new which I did not know before. I simply must correct my former opinion because during this conversation a new and surprising insight was granted me. Whoever closes his mind to such possibilities is not mature enough for interconfessional conversations. Why should a Lutheran be ashamed to admit that in many respects the Roman Catholic Church has preserved a primitive Christian tradition which we have lost? The opposite should also not be impossible!

Genuine conversation is a venture of faith in another respect, namely, it risks taking the other person seriously. Is it at all possible for a Roman Catholic theologian to acknowledge Reformation theology as a genuine concern? Is it possible for him to view the impressive theological work of Luther as something more than a mere expression of, to be sure, very interesting, but in the last analysis, erroneous religious thoughts? Is it possible for him to see in the history of the Lutheran Church something more than just a consequent development

of a false premise, to which the Aristotelian phrase applies: *Parva error in principio, magna in fine?*

The Catholic theologian who attempts to take the Reformation theology seriously, both in its content as well as its language, opens himself up to a risk. He holds open the possibility that, in the final analysis, excommunication is only valid *iure ecclesiastico*, and that fundamentally it could one day be declared to be invalid. He must take upon himself the responsibility for dealing with things, which at any rate, lie on the periphery of that which is legitimate, and he must do this without expecting any visible reward.

And conversely: it is just as much a risk for Protestant theologians to take Catholic theology seriously, also at the point where the Roman Church has taken an explicit position against the Reformation and has declared that the Lutheran Church has no right to call itself a church and that the Eucharist in this "church" is no Eucharist at all. All of this lies so close to the impossible that it is amazing that interconfessional conversations take place at all. And yet the Evangelical theologian must take the risk of "getting outside of himself," even to the point of losing some of his Protestant self-confidence, and of occupying himself with things which are regarded by many Lutheran theologians and by a Protestant public opinion at the very least as superfluous and dangerous.

We on both sides are being asked, and I believe by Truth itself, whether we are ready to make a sacrifice, not in order that we might "lose our lives," but on the contrary, in order that we might be enriched by the truth through this "losing of ourselves."

Furthermore, interconfessional conversations are marked by mutual respect. Principles and theses cannot respect one another; they never meet one another in a personal sense, they merely run into one another in a mechanical and technical sense. In a conversation I do not encounter a principle, but a living human being with his searching and finding, his pitiful limitations and his freedom. He must never be identified with a principle or with a thesis. To view him exclusively as the representative of a principle or as a "consequence," and to exclusively talk with him in these terms amounts to an unspeakable devaluation of this person. All of us are in constant danger of this, for we are all sinful human beings.

Man is really man in conversation with other men. Without genuine conversation the human person atrophies; the monological person is a man who is lost. But even our conversations with one another within the church of Jesus Christ contain a germ of evil within them. We do not understand the language of others, we cannot understand it, and frequently we have no desire to do so. Even Christianity lives under the curse which was cast on the Tower of Babel. However, we also believe that the Holy Spirit has the power to overcome this curse. Truth and divine reality are present in the experience of Pentecost, and Pentecost is the miracle of language, of the word. Our human language is always in danger, but it is always possible for the Spirit to overcome the sinful weakness of our human words even in interconfessional conversations.

Men encounter one another within the realm of truth. Truth itself is never a thesis or a principle, in fact it lives in continual conflict with these petrified substitutes for itself, and the truth gives evidence of its power by continually breaking through these substitutes which so fearfully hold men captive. Truth is Spirit, and where the Spirit is, there is also freedom. I must respect a man in his freedom. Truth and truthfulness are not, as such, identical, and yet there is a hidden connection between the two. Truthfulness is the fruitful ground for truth. Without truthfulness the truth is homeless among us. Without truthfulness we have no right to truth; without it the truth would be forsaken, and the last situation would be worse than the first. Now truthfulness is no simple matter, and under no circumstances is it a slogan with which I can fight against my enemies. We are always threatened by our unconscious impulses and instincts, by an unlimited urge for self-preservation, which also has a hidden effect in spiritual matters. Truthfulness is no resting place, but a continual warfare, an ongoing process of purification and repentance. In the struggle for truthfulness which actually involves truth, there is a mutual respect which acts as a unifying spiritual bond in our struggle for the truth.

Mention must at least be made here of something which is not easy to express, but which is of extreme importance for the conversations about which we are speaking here. In Roman Catholicism, as well as in Lutheran Christianity, there are principles, effective ideas or intentions, which are fatal when drawn to their extreme consequences. On both sides these stand in total contradiction to one another; because of them the two partners in such conversations very often depart from one another unreconciled. The ways of one side evoke a sinister dialectic against those of the other. At the same time, however, the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical Lutheran Church are indivisibly chained together through this terrible dialectic.

We have a presentiment on both sides of those powers which threaten our churches through their destructive force. They are among "the gates of hell." They are the forces of the anti-Christ, who is always hardest at work within the church itself. These powers are often one-sided distortions of the truth, otherwise they would have no power. In himself, man is never free from them. Throughout his history he is tossed about and tyrannized by them. Out of this inclination and out of fear, he flees for refuge to these very powers because he does not dare to trust the truth alone. This is what is so tragically sinful about the tyranny of such powers: man, in order, assumedly, not to go to pieces, submits to them. We do not understand the inner nature of these powers, and can only describe them by way of indication: The power of pertinacious criticism and of negative rejection, the power of an uncritical, an almost too enchanting, religious positivism and legalism, the power of a false subjectivism and an equally false objectivism. These powers are strengthened on both sides by our spiritual indolence and our rooted self-opinion. They tempt man by promising him "freedom" as well as security. But these powers, along with

all others, have been overcome in Christ. To be sure, we will always be under attack from them, but we have been saved from their tyranny. When will we dare to take this freedom seriously, in order thereby to be bound only to God and his truth? In genuine conversations we come together as those who in themselves are hopelessly delivered up to these forces, but also as those who have been freed from the curse of their tyranny by Christ. Is this of no importance for our conversations? We owe it to one another to respect one another in these conversations, because we have not been given up to these forces like marionettes, because we are not identical to them, but walk in freedom and in the way of freedom. We live in the realm of truth, and therefore we do not confront one another as representatives of principles settled once for all, but as those who have been saved for the freedom of the truth. Therefore inter-confessional conversations are, in the final analysis, conversations in faith. If it was said before that we must take one another seriously in these conversations, then it must now be said that we must not take the threatening forces which continually have power over us so seriously that we no longer dare to believe that they have been overcome in Christ. We do not yet possess an externally visible unity, but still there is a unity which we dare not disdain: a unity in our good, even if very often severe, dialogue, in which we try to penetrate to one another, and in which we attempt to understand more fully the word of God.

It is not good for man to be alone, even as theologians and—*sit venia verbo!*—even as a church. It is not good for the Lutheran Church to remain alone. If we do so, we will all too easily become a “particular church” as Luther himself feared. A “particular church” is a *contradictio in adjecto*. There is no such thing as a church “for itself alone,” a monological church. If the Lutheran Church does not continually hear the question which is put to it by the Roman Catholic Church, but regards the confessional problems as solved and no longer existent, then this is a sign of an inner stagnation whereby that for which the Reformers fought has been forgotten. The result will be a church which is satisfied with a particularized existence, a church whose participation in the living history from which it springs and to which it belongs has very much decreased, or one which has almost completely shut itself out from this history. For its own sake our church dare not desire to stand alone. It must be willing to listen to what others have to say to it, in order thereby to be continually referred back to its true origin. By these means it fights against the forces which threaten it. Every church has its *tentatio*, the Lutheran Church certainly also. In togetherness with others it receives assistance from the Spirit of Truth, so that it will not founder on its own “particularity.”

That the Roman Catholic Church also cannot stand alone has certainly been in evidence throughout its own history. Thus, in the last analysis, the Reformation was a great blessing to it. Even the Roman Church cannot and dare not be satisfied with its own individual history, regardless how universal this appears to be. It is very difficult for any church to acquiesce in this truth, but doubtless

it is most difficult for the Roman Catholic Church to do so. This is a consequence of its own self-understanding. Yet in all clarity, and with all due respect, it must be said that if the Roman Catholic Church, regardless of how "secretly" this might occur, is not open to the serious questions which have been posed by the Reformation, and to the reformers' biblical insight into God's way of salvation, then this is a sign that it has become self-sufficient, and has closed the door to those influences which could be of saving value in her theology and in her whole Christian life. If the Roman Catholic Church does not continually hear this question then it seriously stands in danger of being drawn into some side-alley, away from the decisive center. This is a danger which has often threatened in the course of her history.

Neither the Roman Catholic nor the Lutheran Church of today is the same as that of 400 years ago. Both of them stand within history, and they must not be satisfied either with the triumphs of former periods, or with the brilliance of today. On both sides, the power of destructive forces is at work, but on both sides we live out of grace and through the power of God. Our being together on the way is a gracious order of God, for the Roman Catholic Church as well as for the Lutheran Church. It is something which we must not regard as something forced upon us from the outside to be simply accepted reluctantly, but it is something which we must consent to. We do not gladly accept this truth about the necessity for mutual help—*confusione hominum-providentia Dei*. But we must, and we are allowed to remain in dialogue with one another; otherwise we will decay on both sides. So serious is the situation for us both!

V.

Does what has been hinted at here demand too much of interconfessional conversations? Perhaps. Despite this, I believe that factors which I have attempted to describe here have been effective wherever something genuine has taken place in interconfessional dialogues. I hope that the ideas which have been presented here represent an intention, which, translated into words and deeds, can have a salutary effect upon our mutual conversations. We owe such conversations to each other. Theologians participate in them not only for their own sakes but also for the sake of others. Despite all of our deep differences, we have a great responsibility towards one another. We cannot live without each other, because Christ is the Lord of his Christian people,

The Evangelical Possibilities of Roman Catholic Theology

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

IT IS BECOMING CLEARER AND CLEARER that the Roman Catholic Church's emphasis on the unalterable and irreformable character of its dogma does not have anywhere near as limiting and restrictive an influence on theological development as has generally been supposed. Not only is it possible to add new dogmas, such as that of the Assumption, but old dogmas can be re-interpreted in such a way as to transform what has been thought to be their clear and irrevocable meaning. Sometimes it seems that there are almost unlimited opportunities within Roman Catholicism for change both towards, and away from, the Reformation understanding of the gospel.

The Roman Catholics, of course, are reluctant to acknowledge the full extent of the mutability of doctrine, for they are committed to emphasizing the unchangeable character of the church's teaching. Strangely enough, Protestants also like to insist on the unchanging character of Roman beliefs and practises. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that it is easier to attack the Roman Church if, in fact, it never does abandon old positions; but it is self-contradictory for the non-Roman to engage in such polemics. He believes that the Roman Church is a human, rather than a divine, institution; and he furthermore affirms that all such institutions are subject to the flux of historical change. The only consistent thing for him to do, therefore, is to regard the Roman claim to immutability as a self-delusion, and to be fully willing, rather than reluctant, to recognize such changes as have taken place and the possibility of greater alterations in the future.

This point is of fundamental importance for the Lutheran study of Roman Catholicism. It means that we must constantly, and perhaps primarily, ask this question: To what extent can a Roman Catholic theology become genuinely Christian? To what extent can it become faithful, or at least not opposed, to the evangelical understanding of the Kerygma?

You will observe that the question, so phrased, does *not* ask, "To what extent is the official Roman Catholic dogmatic system in its present form faithful to the word of God?" That is another problem which has its own importance, but it should not occupy the center of our attention. We are well aware that within Roman Catholicism, as well as within in our own Confession, there are different ways of understanding various dogmas. Consider, as a minor example, the vast difference on the question of the holiness of the church, between Congar's *Vraie et Fausse Réforme dans l'Eglise* (1950) and the usual scholastic text-book and catechetical presentations. From the Lutheran per-

spective, Congar's theses, however deficient they may be, are vastly more evangelical, more Christian, than are the ordinary theological treatments. For the purposes of our encounter with Roman Catholicism, they are also much more important. Should we not always begin by asking: what is the best possible theological interpretation which can be put upon such and such a dogma? If we do this, we may at times find ourselves doing work which the Roman Catholics themselves should do. We may find ourselves trying to show that a given doctrine is susceptible, within the context of Roman dogma taken as a whole, of a sounder—or, if you wish, of a more "Lutheran"—interpretation than it has heretofore been given. If, by any chance, Roman Catholics would find it possible to accept our suggested revisions, we should only rejoice, instead of regretting that we are deprived of criticisms against them.

But there are also other advantages of such an approach. It is the only way of fully discovering both what ground we *can* have in common with our Roman brethren, and what ultimately, decisively and irremediably separates us. Further it is a way of thinking, not simply against, but also together with, them. In other words, it has more chance than any other procedure of expanding the area of genuine theological collaboration which already exists to a certain extent in such fields as that of biblical studies. Lastly, it is a method which the Roman Catholics themselves are using from their side with increasing frequency and effectiveness. L. Bouyer's *Du protestantisme à l'église* (1954) undertakes to show how all the basic positive principles of the Reformation can be asserted as genuinely "Catholic." Many objections can be made to this book, but its persuasive power cannot be denied. Küng's book, *Rechtfertigung: Die Lehre Karl Barths und eine katholische Besinnung* (1957), employs a similar positive approach. We, from our side, can do no less, seeking always to see how far we can say "yes" before we must say "no."

As has already been indicated, the fruitfulness of this approach depends on realizing how flexible is the relation of dogma and theology, and how mistaken it is, therefore, to try to set *a priori* limits to the evangelical possibilities of Roman Catholic thought. It is this point which I shall illustrate in the remainder of this article by reference to the general function of dogma, and to specific doctrines such as justification, the authority of Scripture, the nature of faith and its relation to reason.

It is important for us to understand that, in practice if not in theory, dogma is related to theology somewhat as the constitution of a state is related to its laws, or as a law is related to its interpretations. Just as a skillful lawyer may discover possibilities of interpretation which were previously undreamt of and which, in fact, contradict what was thought to be the clear intent of the formulators of the law or constitution, so also Roman Catholic theologians often discover loop-holes in the dogmatic system.

Two exceptionally clear, though perhaps minor, examples of this procedure may first be cited. First of all, there has recently been a revolutionary change

in attitude to the doctrine that unbaptized infants, dying with the guilt of original sin, go to the "Limbo of Children" where, although they are not punished as in hell, they nevertheless are at least excluded from the beatific vision. With scarcely any exceptions, this has been considered dogmatically certain for hundreds of years; but it has recently been pointed out, first of all, that the Magisterium has never actually asserted that unbaptized infants *die* in original sin. They are of course *born* in original sin, but this does not exclude the possibility that God, in his infinite mercy, through means which we can at most only speculate about, might forgive the original guilt of unbaptized infants at the time of their death. Further, it is argued that the notion of the Limbo of Children has never been actually affirmed in a papal pronouncement. Pius VI appeared to do so in 1794, (Denzinger 1526), but if one gives the minimum meaning to his words, they can be interpreted as simply a condemnation, not of all those who reject Limbo, but simply of those Jansenist rigorists who said unbaptized infants go to hell, and who objected to Limbo on the grounds that it was "a Pelagian invention." Similar arguments can be used to dispose of other magisterial references to the doctrine. Considerations such as these lead Schmaus, in Vol. IV of his *Dogmatik*, to say that revelation is silent on the fate of unbaptized infants, and so it is best to think in terms of God's universal, salvific will. In a recent survey (*Downside Review*, 1953) around thirty authors were cited as having similar views, but apparently the majority of writers still think that Limbo is a matter of dogma.

Another example of this legalistic approach is provided by the question of the "motives of credibility." The Vatican Council's Canon 4 on Faith (Denzinger, 1813), says that miracles including those in the N.T., are to be considered grounds for belief in "the divine origin of the Christian religion." In a recent study, *Le Problème de l'acte de foi* (1950) Roger Aubert says that, strictly speaking, it is only the rationalistic denial of the possibility of miracles which is definitely excluded, and then goes on to write: "One would perhaps escape being declared a heretic... [even] if one affirmed the legendary and mythical character of all scriptural miracles [as long as this was done], not for philosophical reasons on account of which the impossibility of miracles is affirmed *a priori*, but rather exclusively for reasons of literary and historical criticism" (p. 176). Now Aubert is not in the least interested in denying all miracles but, like a lawyer, he does insist on the minimum interpretation of dogmatic statements, for the minimum meaning is the least unambiguous one.

I have dealt at such length with this matter because it seems to me to constitute one of the greatest psychological difficulties we have in our approach to much Roman Catholic theology. This way of treating dogma seems to us dishonest. Precisely those theologians with whom we are most in sympathy often seem to sin most in this respect. They appear to alter, indeed betray, the basic spirit and orientation of the Roman dogmatic system even while professing to be wholly faithful to it. We applaud the modifications they introduce, but

we are disturbed by the lack of candor. This reaction is natural, but it seems at least in part unjustified. We must constantly remember that it is also dogma that only a part of theological truth has been explicitly defined, and that the Scripture liturgy, the Fathers and Doctors, are also norms for theology. So when a Roman Catholic theologian does violence to what seems the clear historical meaning of a dogma in order to make it harmonize with other authorities, he may actually be performing his dogmatically imposed task. It is this which gives us hope for the future, for it means that there are perhaps great possibilities still unrealized for giving evangelical interpretations to the most unbiblical of dogmas.

Our next illustration of this point is provided by Küng's well-known book on justification which I have already mentioned, as well as discussed more fully in another place (*The Ecumenical Review* XI, 1959, 334-340). The doctrine of justification here formulated does meet many of the Reformation criticisms. Furthermore, it has been widely approved in Roman Catholic circles. None of the twenty reviews which have come to my attention accuse Küng of heresy. A minority of the reviewers sharply disagree with his theological position, but even these admit that his understanding of the Roman Catholic position has never been condemned and so is within the limits of orthodoxy. This is all the more surprising in that Küng declares that grace is fundamentally the kindness and favor of God, not a *habitus* within man (196). Justification is first of all a matter of God "declaring" man righteous, and only because of this, "making" him so (206-218). In short, forgiveness and imputation have been given the primacy which has been denied them, not only by almost all Roman theologians from the middle ages to the recent past, but also by dogma as formulated by the Council of Trent (cf. esp. Denzinger, 799).

In reconciling his position with the Tridentine formulations, Küng uses the lawyer-like techniques which we have already examined. He also employs a methodological principle which almost all Roman Catholic authors, whatever their views, adhere to, but which no one, as far as I know, has formulated as clearly as he. The function of dogmas is primarily negative, primarily defensive, and so they must always be understood in reference to the heresies which they oppose. They do not say all that needs to be said about the matters with which they deal (113), and sometimes they may reflect the fact that the church in certain epochs not only neglects, but actually forgets, truths of the faith (213). Furthermore, in determining the authoritative meaning of a dogma, the private theological opinions of the men who formulated it are irrelevant. Though Küng does not wish to go this far (123), it almost seems as if the only point at which the Holy Spirit helped them in such a way as to guarantee correctness was in making sure that the errors they condemned were in fact errors.

I have, for the sake of brevity, somewhat exaggerated the principle, but nevertheless it is essentially in this way that Küng deals with the Council of Trent. It is clear from the records of the preliminary discussions, as well as from what

the final articles say, that the members of the Council wished to assert that God justifies by infusing grace and that they wished to exclude any approximation to the Reformation view that God justifies by a declaration or imputation of righteousness. There can be little doubt, on the basis of the historical evidence, that if they had known about Küng's position they would also have rejected it. Actually they went so far as to reject a compromise doctrine of justification, rather like Küng's, proposed by Cardinal Seripando. He said, similarly to Küng, that God, in justifying, both declares righteous and infuses grace; the only difference is that he spoke of these as two different acts instead of identifying them as Küng does (211). Now, despite all this, Küng insists that his view is perfectly compatible with Trent; and, as a matter of fact, the Council does not condemn his doctrine. It couldn't very well because it didn't know about it. The only way that it could have rejected Küng is by saying that the declaration or imputation of righteousness is in absolutely no sense involved in justification, and it never does go to such an extreme. As a result, room is left for Küng's position, and Küng is able to argue that the authoritative and infallible value of Trent lies simply in the fact that it excluded the wrong sort of justification by imputation, viz., doctrines which neglect the truth that "God's *declaration* of righteousness is simultaneously and in one act God's *making* righteous" (211).

We must now turn to a consideration of the fact that this procedure has the effect of giving much greater prominence to the Bible than most Protestants realize is possible in the Roman Church. Because the teachings of the Magisterium, the Councils and the popes are interpreted in this restricted, negative way, rather as lawyers interpret legal documents, the Bible is left as the major positive source for theology. The role of dogma tends to become simply that of telling the theologian how not to interpret the Bible, and so within these limits he can proceed quite freely.

It was suggested in a recent issue of the *Lutheran World* (V, 1958, 94-7) that when Küng calls Scripture "the primary norm" and the "primary source" of theology, he actually "contradicts the definition (normative for Roman Catholic theology) in the encyclical *Humani generis* (1950), according to which the magisterial office of the church is to be the nearest [proxima] and universal norm for truth for every theologian" (p. 96). Now we must admit that Küng has contradicted the actual practice of the Roman Church and perhaps also the explicit or implicit opinion of most of its theologians. But we need to add something more. We must recognize that Küng is not *formally* contradicting dogma, and that it is quite possible for him and others to believe honestly in the primacy of Scripture, and sincerely to try to do their theological work on that basis. As we know, the distinction between a "primary norm" and a "proximate norm" is important for the Roman Catholic, for he both does, and is expected, to exercise a lawyer's precision in the interpretation of papal documents. The Jesuit theologian, de Broglie, of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Paris, explains the distinction between these two types of norms by saying

that the proximate norms, the ecclesiastical definitions, are meant "*simplement*" to attest with clarity and certainty truths already possessed by the church's faith. Therefore the theologian fails in his task if he relies simply on these definitions, and he would accomplish his work *best* if he were to establish all the defined truths by reference to Scripture without direct reliance on the definitions themselves. In short, the primary theological argument is the one from Scripture, and the arguments from tradition, or even from infallible pronouncements, cannot be considered equal to it. De Broglie supports his opinion by referring to Thomas Aquinas's well known view that Scripture is primary, and by citing Leo XIII encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, to the effect that Scripture should be, as it were, the soul of theology for "it is *primarily* out of the sacred writings that the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected." (See de Broglie in Appendix to Bouyer's *Du protestantisme à l'église*).

On hearing such words, our immediate inclination is to ask how they can be reconciled with, for example, the fact—admitted by Roman Catholics themselves—that no scriptural evidence can be adduced for the dogma of the Assumption. A partial answer may be seen in such a work as Congar's *Le Christ, Marie et L'église* (1952) where the author attempts to show that the right sort of Mariology and the devotion it inspires are rooted in Chalcedonian (and therefore, by implication, in N.T.) Christology, and where he vigorously attacks what Protestants generally consider typical Roman Marian piety and Marian theology on the grounds that they are unscriptural. This book does not itself fully do so, but I believe it clearly illustrates the possibility of developing, even in the overwhelmingly difficult area of Marian theology, a Roman position which gives a genuine and operative, even though inadequate, meaning to the principle of the primacy of Scripture.

It would be much easier to illustrate from other areas the real, even though incomplete, primacy which some Roman Catholic theologians do in fact give to the Bible. Many show a genuine and effective desire to think in biblical categories. This, as we know, is particularly evident in the area of biblical theology, and among many of the leaders of liturgical revival, but it is also becoming apparent in a few of the theological text-books. For instance, Glorieux's *Introduction à l'étude du dogme* replaces the scholastic attributes of God, such as unity, simplicity, eternity, immutability, omnipresence, with biblical attributes: God is he who is exalted, almighty, living, holy and merciful. There is no reason to doubt that this trend will continue, and we may at least hope that Roman theology, taken as a whole, will become much more faithful to the biblical witness.

All this raises a question which can perhaps never be finally answered, but which certainly needs our prolonged consideration. What are the ultimate dogmatic limits of the scriptural principle in Roman Catholicism, and how do those limits differ from those which human sin and finitude impose on us? It

is not enough to refer in answer to papal infallibility and the unalterability of dogma. We must rather consider the actual points at which such factors necessarily and unavoidably interfere with theological work which is honestly intended to be faithful to the word of God. No doubt we shall discover that sometimes we, who have so much more freedom to be faithful, are actually less so, and then honesty will compel us to take seriously the Roman suggestion that we are suffering from the wrong kind of freedom. Interconfessional study is bound to have its uncomfortable moments, otherwise it would not be worth undertaking.

When the Bible is taken as seriously as the above remarks suggest, it cannot help but have a transforming influence in all areas of theology. This is perhaps especially clear in reference to the Roman Catholic understanding of faith. The study of the act of faith, by Aubert, which has already been mentioned, shows that on this point nothing less than a revolution has taken place in the minds of large numbers of theologians. Towards the end of the last century, faith was thought of, almost universally, "as a dry and completely external adhesion to abstract truths, having as its condition external credibility" (Laberthouère, quoted by Aubert, p. 263). Such a rationalistic view was considered the only proper one, the only one which could be harmonized with the authoritative descriptions of faith as "the assent of the intellect moved by the will" (St. Thomas), and as merely "the beginning of human salvation" (Trent, Denzinger, 801). But when faith is conceived in this way, as belief in dogma rather than as living encounter with God in Jesus Christ, the very center of the gospel is obscured. Grace is then all too easily thought of as exclusively sacramental; and, as always happens when the sacramental is detached from trustful faith in the promises of God, grace itself becomes subpersonal and magical. However, these dangers are now widely recognized, as is shown by many elements in the liturgical revival. Further, it is freely admitted, even by conservative exegetes, that "faith" in the New Testament has a different meaning, referring to a total orientation of the personality which includes trust and obedience. It is also granted that the Protestant understanding of the word "faith" is closer to that of Scripture (Aubert, p. 78, fn. 9; p. 692). However, it is then added that one aspect of this total faith attitude is intellectual, and it is this which Roman Catholics have traditionally isolated for study under the name of "theological faith" (*Ibid.*, p. 694). This does not deny that, concretely considered, the act of faith never occurs in isolation. Rather, it always involves the collaboration of all the psychological forces of man (*Ibid.*). It is also admitted that the theological treatment of faith should not be separated, as has been done in the past, from a consideration of it as a gift and a virtue (p. 716). Such Roman Catholic writers as Mourroux say that faith arises because God—encountered in the soul as a Thou—makes man recognize that such or such an exterior word has been spoken by him (p. 619). On this view, all that remains of the former rationalistic treatises on the "motives of credibility" is the insistence that God

can (even though he perhaps rarely does) use objective rational considerations as conditions, though not causes, of faith (pp. 744, 745).

I do not for a moment wish to suggest that this re-interpretation removes all differences between us and the Roman Catholics on the subject of faith. But, as we have said before in reference to other problems, it makes necessary a complete re-study of exactly where the difference lies. Further, it appears that the Roman Catholic approach is now sufficiently open and flexible so that such an investigation would take the form of a collaborative effort in which we could expect that our own understanding of the nature of faith would be enlarged.

It is natural to pass from a consideration of faith to the problems of reason, and the role of natural theology and philosophy, in Roman Catholic thought. These matters perhaps give us as much concern as any, for a great many of the theological formulations we question result from the use of philosophy in revealed theology, and from the construction of a natural theology. Further, it may seem that the Roman Church is irremediably committed to the misuse of philosophy. Numerous papal pronouncements ever since the *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII seem to insure that the church, despite the protests of individuals like Johannes Hessen, will in the foreseeable future be burdened with a dangerous intellectualism, an unbiblical metaphysics, and a rationally suspect theory of knowledge.

To a certain extent I share these fears, but it seems to me that we must be careful not to exaggerate them. It can be argued that the original purpose of Leo XIII in recommending a return to scholastic philosophy, particularly that of Thomas Aquinas, has already been definitely and permanently defeated. The defeat is not yet recognized in many quarters, but it seems to be just as impossible for the Roman Church, taken as a whole, to return to the rationalistic 19th century view of philosophy as it would be for Protestantism, considered as a whole, to revert to the old rationalistic verbal inspiration view of the Bible. What has happened in both cases—though of course with significant differences—is that the necessity of the modern historical approach to the thought of the past can no longer be denied.

A glance at developments within Neo-Thomism itself will make this evident. The view of St. Thomas which is being developed by Roman Catholic historians is very different from that of their 19th century predecessors. It is being increasingly recognized that simply to repeat Aquinas is to misunderstand him, for words and formulae which meant one thing in the context of his thought-world, mean something very different in the context of ours. He was an intellectualist to be sure, but his intellectualism was something very different from that of a 19th century, or a 17th century, rationalist. For instance, his notion of metaphysical knowledge is alien to us and we must use all the categories available in our day in an effort to elucidate it. Gilson borrows from Bergson, Bernard Welte from Karl Jaspers, and Maritain, though in some respects a conservative, tries in part to explain the apprehension of being by reference to Heidegger.

Some of the interpretations that are offered are no doubt historically fantastic, but other apparently far-fetched explanations actually do succeed in showing how Aquinas could hold apparently opposed positions without contradiction. For example, it now seems undeniable that one can understand his notion of "rationality" only if one admits that it involves elements both of what we now call "existential authenticity" and of what we term "psychological health."

It can be seen from this that the historical approach is forcing the recognition that in order to maintain the same truths in different ages one must constantly change the mode of expression, one must alter the conceptual categories, in which these truths are expressed. It is of course still held that there is only a single *philosophia perennis* of which Aquinas is in some sense the normative representative, but the modern Thomist is often no longer tied to the medieval approach and thought forms. He can say, not only that Aquinas' thought must be translated into terms comprehensible to the modern mind but, more radically, that the philosophy of the past must be added to, completed and corrected.

There are several important consequences of this revolution in philosophy which demand our careful attention. The first of these is the problem which is created for theology. Just because philosophical categories have been so freely used in the construction of revealed theology, the entrance of a certain, even though limited, historical relativism in the first field necessarily has its repercussions in the second. H. Bouillard's *Conversion et grâce chez S. Thomas d'Aquin* (1944) illustrates this very well, for it argues that just because certain of Thomas's philosophical categories are outdated, the doctrine of grace also needs to be reformulated at certain points. Thus much of what a Roman Catholic can say about the historical relativity of philosophy, can also be said about theology.

It is true that even the words of defined dogmas are held to be unalterable and so, in a way, perfect but, as we know, the notion of the development of doctrine, as presented by some writers, leaves room for any number of qualifications and additions. It has been argued that the very infallibility of the Magisterium, which seems to us so grave a restriction, gives theology surprising freedom to look to the future, for the guarantee of doctrinal correctness is found in the voice of the church speaking in the present, rather than in rigid adherence to the past. It is therefore perfectly acceptable for a Roman Catholic to say that Nicea or Chalcedon need to be supplemented by additional affirmations, and the practical significance of such an assertion may at times not be very different from saying, as some Protestants do, that it would be desirable to alter the formulations of these Creeds. Therefore we should, perhaps, not be so much concerned about Roman doctrinal inflexibility as about the question of whether the development of doctrine will be in the direction of increasing faithfulness to God's word, or away from it.

There is another consequence of the historical approach—this one directly concerned with philosophy—which forces itself upon our attention. In a still small, but influential, group of writers, the notion of "natural theology" has

been transformed. Even some Thomists now treat natural theology, not so much as a preamble and support of revealed truths, but rather the reverse. It is admitted that in modern society it is generally a waste of effort to try to bring men to a belief in the existence of God by philosophical argument. As a matter of fact, and perhaps even of necessity, it requires the operation of grace to overcome the social effects of sin in a man's mind so that he can gain a natural knowledge of God. In short, at least in most cases in our contemporary society, it is only when a man has supernatural faith that he will also be able to have natural knowledge of God. Further, the importance of the natural knowledge of God apart from supernatural faith is strictly limited. It gains its true significance only in believers who, by means of their purified reason, now rejoice to see the glory of God in the things which he has made. Thus philosophical work becomes an act of adoration and obedience, rather than of human self-assertion.

Clearly there is much in these movements of thought which is deserving of our careful study. It might be well for us to pause for a moment and consider how much there is for us to learn from the way in which theologically competent Roman Catholics are bringing the Christian faith into encounter, not only with philosophy but also, more generally, with all intellectual activities. In place of the integralism which still prevails in many places, we now have a developing "internal catholicity" which is most instructive. On the philosophical level, the Roman Catholics are engaging more and more frequently in open and fruitful dialogue with non-Christian thinkers. The same is true in aesthetics, the sociology of religion, and psychology, notably depth psychology. These conversations with the world, together with other factors such as the liturgical revival, are leading to important considerations of the place of the laity in the church (Congar), and of what the French call "*La théologie des réalités terrestres*" (Thils). In many of these areas, theologically trained Lutherans—and Protestants in general—are less advanced than are their Roman colleagues. We who pride ourselves on the freedom that we have in Christ, often seem to be the integralists who isolate theology from all the other activities of man. In reaction against the liberalism of the past, we often try to say that such and such is an *exclusively* theological question which has nothing to do with sociology, psychology, philosophy or, indeed, anything except itself. This attitude often makes theology irrelevant to human reality. While this is not the place to discuss the relationship of theology to other disciplines, I would like to suggest that we shall learn a great deal, not only about Roman Catholicism, but also about matters which are our proper concern, if we follow Roman Catholic discussions in philosophical and cultural (*Geisteswissenschaftlichen*) fields.

In concluding this article, it should be emphasized that we have examined only a few of the evangelical possibilities of Roman Catholic thought. We have not discussed sacramental theology, nor mystical and monastic piety, nor those most painful of all problems which centre around Mary, the church and the papacy. However, we should never forget that, even in these last-named areas,

there are more, as well as less, evangelical ways of adhering to the Roman position. There is, for example, all the difference in the world between integralists who consider papal pronouncements the fount of all Christian wisdom, and those who regard the pope as a fallible human being, perhaps wicked, conceivably even damned, whom God, in his infinite mercy, prevents from positively misleading the church on at least those rare occasions when he proclaims dogma. Men who think in this latter way are clearly trying to be faithful, even in their theology, to the same Lord whom we wish to serve, and so we must approach their thought with genuine openness, a lack of Confessional defensiveness, and a deep desire to hear the truth spoken without any regard to whether it is labeled "Lutheran" or "Roman."

Melanchthon as Author of the Augsburg Confession

WILHELM MAURER

I.

AS THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES throughout the world commemorated the 400th anniversary of the death of Philipp Melanchthon on April 19th of this year, they had occasion to recall the Augsburg Confession, which, along with Luther's Catechism, constitutes a bond uniting all of world Lutheranism. Melanchthon was the author of the Augsburg Confession. But the ideas therein, which he again and again sought to bring into proper relationship to one another and to clarify, did not originate with him; he was not the first to think them. Melanchthon received them from others, from the early church fathers, and not the least from the man whom he revered as a father, from Luther.

Melanchthon's share in the emerging Augsburg Confession consists of just such attempts at correct formulation and clarification. We can to some extent trace them through the course of its development. It is possible to reconstruct, stage by stage, the broad outlines of the careful work which Melanchthon did on the Augsburg Confession. We can observe how he adapted materials from the tradition and how, with the care of an industrious artisan, he hewed the stones and fitted them into the total structure with the artistic touch of a good architect. We can thereby detect his dependence upon a much greater figure, upon Luther, both as regards the general outline as well as the selection of the individual ideas. To speak of Melanchthon's share on the Augsburg Confession means to honor Luther's share in the same breath.

In the past it was painful for many Lutherans that they could not ascribe the Augsburg Confession solely to Luther. In times when the emergent Lutheran church sought, although in vain, to free itself from all traces of "Philippism," it must have seemed offensive that the basic Lutheran confession issued from the hand of Master Philipp. Every attempt was made to get around this, even at the expense of historical truth. Melanchthon was described as being nothing more than Luther's dependent secretary, and Luther was regarded as the actual author. However, elementary historical facts repudiate such an hypothesis. From Coburg Luther had no opportunity to participate in the constantly changing deliberations at Augsburg. He had only seen a very early, incomplete preliminary draft of the confessional statement, the individual details of which are no longer available to us. He only saw it in its present form after its presentation on June 25. He did not contribute a single word to its present form, nor did he make any changes in it. The real author of the Augsburg Confession

was Melanchthon. Apart from the last 10 days before the presentation, he had done all the important work himself, except perhaps for some literary and technical advice from other members of the delegation from Saxony. Not until June 15 did sympathetic theologians and princely advisers make their contributions, thus giving this originally quite Saxon confession its present day form.

Since this was the situation, it is especially significant that Luther later supported Melanchthon's endeavors and approved the Augsburg Confession. To be sure, Luther's words of recognition primarily refer to the very *act* of confession undertaken by the Lutheran princes and classes. But in so doing they also approve the *content* of this confessional statement and support this work, whose author not only accomplished an intellectual feat, but laid down an act of faith. The selection and formation of its statements involved a theological and ecclesiastical decision.

Let us turn to some of Luther's statements in support of it. In this confessional act on June 25, 1530, so he says, the victory of God's Word over all its enemies is documented. The emperor, the pope and all other opponents of the Christian faith had combined forces in order to repress the Word of God, but they could achieve nothing more than to call down the wrath of divine judgement upon their heads. The Word broke forth like "the last trumpet at the Day of Judgement": They wanted to silence it, but it continued (W 30^{III}, 389, 21). The motto which was later appended to the printed edition of the Confession, stems from an open letter which Luther wrote shortly after reading the Confession for the first time: "I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed." (Psalm 119:46).

In the first place Luther ascribed this victory at Augsburg to the Lord Jesus Christ. He it is who is represented in the Augsburg Confession. Thus the words which he himself addressed to those who presumed to judge him, can be addressed to its opponents: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" (W 30^{II}, 398, 27 ff., cf. John 18:23). And when Luther thinks of the role played by men in this victory, he praises first and foremost his own prince, the Elector John the Steadfast. In the funeral sermon which Luther dedicated to his sovereign on August 18, 1532 (W 36, 237 ff., and 244, 11 ff.) Luther immortalized him for his confession at Augsburg: "The Elector thereby died with Christ, risked land and nation, and endured humiliation. But he did not defect from his confession, but "remained true." And so he also rose with Christ: the Augsburg Confession is the ever-present witness to Christ's resurrection."

Though Luther did not specifically mention Melanchthon by name in his praise of the persons involved, he nevertheless reacted positively to Melanchthon's position. Luther regarded the Melanchthon of the Augsburg Confession as the "peacemaker" and not as the "one who treads softly" (*der Leisetreter*)—this latter judgement of Luther's does not refer to the Confession in its present form, but probably only to a preliminary draft by Melanchthon of the foreword

which came from the pen of Chancellor Brücks. Thus he approves the basic motive which governed Melanchthon in the formulation of the Augsburg Confession. Melanchthon wanted to witness to the *unity* of Christendom. He sought to base this unity on faith in Jesus Christ as the mediator between God and man; for him this unity was created by the working of the Word of God and the Sacraments. And thereby Luther also basically sanctioned the tactical measures both as regards the wording of the Augsburg Confession and the deliberations at Augsburg, through which Melanchthon sought to exhibit and to foster this unity. "God gives us credit and the world respects us for having publicly confessed our faith, for having sought and offered peace even though we are not able to achieve it." "We have sufficiently proposed peace and unity, *sed ipsi superbissime nolebant consentire*" (W 30^{II}, 401, 21 ff.; W 30^{III}, 389, 14 ff.). This is a justification of Melanchthon's efforts at Augsburg; a justification of his basic approach, even though not of every single step.

Thus Luther regarded June 25, 1530 as a high point in Melanchthon's life. However, only when seen in retrospect can it be said that it truly was the climax of his career. Today we see more clearly than did any of Melanchthon's contemporaries that this confession has far from exhausted its service as "*ultima tuba ante extremum diem*," in fact, in this age of ecumenical discussion and the spiritual rebuilding of a Protestant church in Germany independent of the state, it has only just begun to fulfil its real function.

Therefore we must give Melanchthon, the main author of the Confession, credit for having performed an incomparable service for Christianity in all ages. We must not let this year, in which we commemorate the 400th anniversary of his death, go by without remembering this service with gratitude.

Melanchthon himself, as he later wrote to Luther, approached this 25th of June with "the most bitter and distressing concerns" (CR 2, 125) and "with constant tears." In this expression of temperament we see the great inner tension of an over-sensitive Christian who acted in complete responsibility and who was aware of the epochal impact which the Augsburg Confession would have upon the history of Christianity. In frightening visions he foresaw the coming struggles of conscience and religious wars which this Protestant confession would evoke.

Our gratitude for Melanchthon's achievement is in no way diminished by such emotional outbursts. Those who flaunt their own achievements cannot be regarded as true representatives of the evangelical faith. Precisely because Melanchthon so modestly held himself in the background, the confession which he drafted was able to win such a universal significance in the church, a significance which overcomes all personal idiosyncrasies and limitations. The presentation which follows should enable us to see the careful manner in which Melanchthon, weighing all things, brought the treasure of the Reformation faith to full expression in the Augsburg Confession.

II.

Melanchthon did not originate the content of the Augsburg Confession. Rather, it is a compilation of material from official documents of the church which he perfected through constant editing and re-editing. It is essential that we learn to recognize the various stages in this process and to identify the materials which he utilized.

The development of confessional statements in the Lutheran church takes as its starting point a private confession which Luther published in the Spring of 1528 as the third part of his last major writing against Zwingli, *On the Holy Communion*. Aware of his approaching death, Luther wrote it as a testament for his followers and successors, just as nine years later he brought out his *Smalcald Articles* as a "Testament Against Rome": "I desire with this treatise to confess my faith before God and all the world, point by point. I am determined to abide by it until my death and (so help me God!) in this faith to depart from this world and to appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ. Hence if any one shall say after my death, "If Dr. Luther were living now, he would teach and hold this or that article differently, for he did not consider it sufficiently," etc., let me say now as then, and then as now, that by the grace of God I have most diligently traced all these articles through the Scriptures, have examined them again and again in the light thereof, and have wanted to defend all of them as certainly as I have now defended the Sacrament of the Altar." (W 26, 499 f.)

Apparently this personal witness of Luther made a lasting impression upon Melanchthon. We can prove that throughout the course of his editorial work on the Augsburg Confession, Melanchthon constantly referred back to this confession of Luther's, using it as a means to correct his own theological statements. This confession is thus of lasting value in understanding the Augsburg Confession. It also provides the basis for the confessional development during the years 1528-1530.

On July 26, 1529, shortly after Melanchthon's return to Wittenberg from the second Reichstag at Speyer and one year after Luther had written his confession, Melanchthon wrote in a letter to his bosom friend in Nürnberg, Joachim Camerarius: "Here I am tossed about by stormy events" (he meant the controversies over the question of Holy Communion and the radical humanistic critique of the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology). "With these in mind, I have planned a hand-book of Christian dogma so that future generations will know how we interpreted the articles of faith" (CR 1, 1084). By this handbook, the so-called Schwabach Articles, whose origin can be traced back to the summer of 1529, are obviously meant. Furthermore, Melanchthon admitted that he had written these articles, a fact indirectly substantiated by Luther, who denied his own authorship of these articles when they appeared without his knowledge or

permission in the beginning of June 1530, and merely admitted that he had "assisted in their formulation" (W 30^m, 194, 20).

Naturally, Luther exercised a decisive influence over their content. In preparing this compilation with a view to posterity, Melanchthon referred back to Luther's personal confession of 1528. Stripped of its personal character, it was to have been refashioned into the basic statement of the Wittenberg theology. That the politicians were extremely interested in this theological endeavor, and adopted these "Schwabach Articles" as the basis for a union between Saxony and Brandenburg at their session at Schwabach (October 1529) and Smalcald (December 1529) is another story. It is important for us that here, for the first time, Melanchthon undertook a fundamental theological task: a unified and brief compendium of Luther's basic ideas, compiled under Luther's supervision and taking Luther's written statements into account. It was this same task which he again had to accomplish in Augsburg one year later. Quite understandably, he used the Schwabach Articles as the foundation.

However, we do possess one very characteristic version of these Articles, which had, moreover, been revised by Luther himself. This particular version had a decisive effect upon the formulation of the Augsburg Confession. We are here referring to the so-called Marburg Articles which Luther composed on October 4th, 1529, after the failure of the Marburg Colloquy on the Lord's Supper. They were intended to show the degree of unanimity which did nevertheless exist between the representatives of Wittenberg on the one hand and the Swiss and South German reformers on the other. For this purpose Luther made use of a transcript, or a preliminary draft, of the Schwabach Articles, as they later came to be called, but which up till then had been kept strictly secret. It is quite natural that later in Augsburg Melanchthon, who was constantly obliged to take the Hessian landgrave and the South-German cities into consideration, had the Marburg version in mind. This can be demonstrated not only regarding the Articles on the Lord's Supper but at other important points as well.

During the first weeks at Marburg it looked as though the Elector of Saxony could justify on his own the ecclesiastical changes which he had carried out through the visitations which took place in his realm from 1527 on. The results were documented in the "Instructions of the Visitors for the Pastors of Saxony," on which Luther and Melanchthon collaborated in 1528. And it is clear that Melanchthon used these "Instructions" as a guide whenever he came across any difficult formulations.

Certainly, it looked for a while as though all these documents would not even be needed at the Reichstag. When the imperial edict was received at the court of Saxony on the 11th March, it was believed that it would be possible to restrict the issue to the practical reforms which had already been undertaken and to push the dogmatic questions into the background for the time being. At any rate, the Elector at first demanded only that the Wittenberg scholars express their opinions on these particular questions; the name "Torgau Articles"

deriving from a conference held in Torgau on March 27th. These provide the basis for Part II of the Augsburg Confession (Art. 22-28). Specific details, such as the limitations of this statement and its date of origin are open to question. What is important to us is that in these Articles Melanchthon possessed yet another source of materials resulting in the main from his collaboration with Luther and which clearly defined the limits within which he could operate and still retain Luther's approval.

However, events soon overthrew all the Saxon plans. On May 2nd the delegates came together in Augsburg; on May 4th a statement by Eck appeared which outlined the doctrinal differences with the boldest of strokes. In 404 articles Eck compiled all of the statements of the Reformers, especially from the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, which seemed in any way suspect. Now the Protestant doctrine had to be defended as a whole. The Schwabach Articles in their available form proved inadequate, however. In secret negotiations with the Emperor, the Elector had already tried to use them as the basis for securing religious peace. He experienced a terrible blow while presenting a rather poor Latin translation of the Schwabach Articles to the Emperor at Innsbruck on May 8th. The Emperor had already issued an edict which forbade Protestant preaching in Augsburg and showed himself extremely likely to be influenced by the Papal Legate, Campegio. In the formulation of the Augsburg Confession Melanchthon had to risk a new approach: without surrendering the newly-won evangelical insights, he had to collate the whole evangelical position with the tradition of the church in such a way that its catholicity, that is, the universal claim of the Reformation on the whole of Christianity, found expression.

In order to fulfil this task it was not sufficient to pick a piece here and a piece there out of the fund of tradition which we have mentioned above and then to fit these individual items together like a mosaic. The author of the Augsburg Confession had to have some conception not only of the Reformation doctrine but also of that which was universally regarded as Christian truth. And he, furthermore, had to be able to bind these two conceptions into one unified whole.

Before we ask whether and how Melanchthon solved this task, we must first reconstruct the major stages in the development of our present-day Augsburg Confession on a chronological basis. On May 11th 1530, Melanchthon sent the first German-Latin draft, the details of which we do not know, to Luther at Coburg. It apparently dealt essentially with the practical questions treated in the Torgau Articles. In his attempt to present the theological basis for the changes in liturgical and church order which were being carried out in Saxony, Melanchthon must have dealt most thoroughly with the arguments of Eck. The details are unknown to us. We possess but one foreword addressed to the Emperor and intended to convince him of the harmlessness of the changes in Saxony. Luther's reply of May 15th approves the draft and refers especially to the foreword; Luther's statement about "treading softly" was made in this connection.

The next stage in the history of the text was reached on May 31st. On that date (perhaps even on the evening of the 30th), the Nürnberg delegates received a text in Latin, the German translation of which they sent home on June 3rd. This Nürnberg manuscript constitutes the most important intermediary stage on the way to the present text.

On June 15th these same Nürnberg delegates sent home a revision of the text which to some extent corresponds to our present version. We also have a similar, but less complete, draft which was intended for Chancellor Vogel of Ansbach. And finally, a great number of textual changes were made during the last 10 days, the 15th-25th June, when the negotiations with the signatories and especially with the difficult Landgrave of Hessen took place.

All of this involved a great deal of detailed work, which was in the main done by Melanchthon. We will not concern ourselves here with philological details which are evident in abundance. We shall rather attempt to illustrate within the framework of the stages already described the inner development of the doctrinal statements which we have in their completed form in the present-day text of the Augsburg Confession.

III.

First of all, we shall turn our attention to the above-mentioned confessional texts and the changes which Melanchthon effected. These show us the theological principles which he followed.

In his confession of 1528, Luther followed very closely the trinitarian structure of the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed, as the case may be. His confession is therefore no innovation. He confesses the faith held by the church in all ages. But he does it in his own manner, not because the fathers believed, but because he received this faith through the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, his confession is arranged according to the three articles of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. He believed "with all his heart the great article concerning the divine Majesty, that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one natural and true God."

His Christology derives from his Trinitarian faith. The divine Majesty can only be approached through the Mediator who is both God and Man. He confesses, furthermore, the Incarnation and the work of redemption which Christ has accomplished. The fact that he did everything necessary for our reconciliation shows that there is nothing which we can do. Luther's rejection of free will and the admission of our ensnarement in original sin and our guilt derive from the second Article. All personal efforts and rewards must be surrendered. The monastic life which consists of a striving for rewards is worthless. A man can only serve God rightly in the state to which he has been called.

Here Luther fits his basic Reformation principles into the framework of Christology. He develops no "Mathematics of Justification" here, although

something of the sort is often presumed to be evident in his scholarly writings. Without using any scholastic concepts at all, he develops the doctrines of justification and sanctification directly from the doctrine of reconciliation.

Then, when Luther confesses the works of the Spirit, he speaks of the holy, Christian Church throughout the world, in which the Gospel is preached and Baptism and Holy Communion are administered. Alongside the confessional statements stands a word of warning. All means of grace to which the preceding church tradition ascribed saving power without any warrant in Holy Scripture are rejected. In this connection Luther once more develops his doctrine of the Trinity. He is concerned here not with speculation about the inner nature of God, but with the unfolding of God's saving acts in the history of his revelation. Because man rebelled against his Creator and fell out of grace, God sent his Son and bestowed his Spirit upon us, in order to reconcile us to himself. Without using its concepts, Luther has closely collated the traditional doctrine of the Trinity with the fundamental Reformation insight "by faith alone, from grace alone, through Christ alone."

What did Melanchthon make of this confession when, as we have seen, in the summer of 1529, he transformed this personal confession of Luther's into an authoritative doctrinal norm for coming generations? He retained the connection with the ancient Christian creeds and actually incorporated them into his own understanding of the economy of salvation. Articles 1-13 of the so-called Schwabach Articles, which are later found in essence in CA 1-17, cover the history of salvation from the creation of the world to the return of Christ. We see that under Luther's influence Melanchthon, in his evangelical confession, followed the ancient creeds both as far as structure and content are concerned. In the Augsburg Confession the Protestant doctrine of justification through faith rests on the ancient doctrines of the Trinity and Christology.

Certainly Melanchthon abandoned the external trinitarian framework in the confessional statements which he composed; at the same time he changed the trinitarian emphasis into a dual Christological emphasis. He combined justification and salvation in a more pronounced way than did Luther and finally related them to Christ's work of reconciliation. He speaks of the Spirit only in that the Spirit works the faith which justifies. That such faith only results through the external means of grace, the word and sacrament in the church, and that this is indeed the case until the return of Christ, is stated in a series of syllogistic statements which are thoroughly Christological. Within this framework we find in Articles 5 and 6 the first attempt to express the events of justification and sanctification in theological terms taken from Paul.

Whereas Luther in his confession of 1528 included questions of ethics under the second Article and scattered his polemics against Rome through parts 2 and 3, Melanchthon in the Schwabach Articles included both in the same appendix. His ethic is essentially limited to rendering service and obedience to the proper authorities. His polemics are aimed at the prohibition of marriage

and certain foods as well as against coercion in monastic life, the abomination of silent masses and religious ceremonialism. The civil and ecclesiastical orders which are briefly described in the concluding Articles are only valid till the return of Christ. He develops a merely interim order, to which the Christian is bound by faith.

In passing we can call attention to the sovereign freedom which Luther exercised in adapting the Schwabach order to his notes for the Marburg Articles. He separated certain parts, omitted others, and expanded those which he thought particularly important. The two debatable articles on Baptism and the Lord's Supper were retained, the former in a completely, the latter in an only partially, harmonized form. This procedure shows clearly how Luther dealt with the practical application of this confession in concrete cases.

If we compare the form which the confession assumed in the Nürnberg draft Na at the end of May with that of the Schwabach Articles, four major changes are evident. These hold good for the final form of the Augsburg Confession as well. Structural principles are evident here for which Melanchthon alone must be held responsible.

1. He included the articles on civil and ecclesiastical orders, which the Schwabach Articles had subsumed under the statements about the Return of Christ as an interim order, in the context of the history of salvation (13-15 in Na, 14-16 in CA), thereby giving them increased significance. At the same time he fell back upon Luther's example of 1528.

2. In Na, Melanchthon placed the Article on Original Sin (Na 2, CA 2) between the trinitarian and christological statements, thereby marking more clearly the progression of the history of salvation. The beginning of the Augsburg Confession deals with the creation, the fall, and the restoration in succession. Thus it deals also with Christ's work of reconciliation which is treated in Na 3 and CA 3, and is thereby even more directly related to the subsequent articles on justification. Again Melanchthon followed Luther's example of 1528. Here, too, original sin was placed between the 1st and 2nd articles of the Creed, and justification and reconciliation were completely identified with one another.

3. Melanchthon could not base any further changes directly on Luther. In Na and CA he had dealt with the church as the place where the word is preached and the sacraments administered directly after justification and before the doctrine of the sacraments. The situation at Augsburg was a decisive factor here. Thus the unity of the church which rests on pure doctrine and the proper administration of the sacraments is more strongly emphasized in opposition to the traditionalists.

4. Already in Na Melanchthon had inserted new articles into the traditional framework, thus producing a completely independent work, which we must analyse towards the end of this essay. Three new articles were produced before the end of May: one on the public ministry (CA 14), one on free will (CA 18) and one on the origin of sin (CA 19). In the final revision, articles CA 20 (on

"Faith and Good Works") and CA 21 (on the "Veneration of the Saints") were added.

IV.

The influence which the above described principles of organization had on the formation of the text both as regards their general application as well as their effect upon the individual articles can be illustrated by two examples: the articles dealing with the dogma of the ancient church (CA 1 and 3) and the Reformation doctrine of justification (CA 4-6).

a) Melanchthon, reporting on the final draft of the later Schwabach Articles to his bosom friend Camerarius on July 26th 1529, described them as an Apologia and Testament for the church in coming generations. At the same time he complained that the ancient church leaders had never transmitted such a compilation of Articles of Faith to posterity; "We have hardly any idea what the ancients thought about a great many important things. As far as I can see there was great certainty about the doctrine (causa) of the divinity of Christ and I am happy that so many witnesses have testified to such an important point" (CR 1, 1084). Melanchthon had also collected the testimonies of the Fathers to the ancient church's doctrines on the Trinity and Christology just as some years before he had compiled the statements of the Church Fathers on Holy Communion and had published them in March 1530 as proof of the Lutheran doctrine of Holy Communion. A corresponding collection of quotations which was used as preparatory material for CA 1 and CA 3 is no longer available to us, but their existence can be assumed with certainty. Certainly, evidence of Melanchthon's patristic studies can be found in the lists of heresies in the ancient church which he compiled and which we find in ever-increasing numbers at the conclusion of the individual articles of faith. It is evident that Melanchthon formulated the emerging Protestant confessional statement in relation to the tradition of the ancient church. The fruits of Melanchthon's theological erudition can already be seen in the Schwabach Articles. Formulations from the Nicene Creed can be traced in Article 1, and Articles 2 and 3 are even more closely related to the Athanasian Creed. Obviously Melanchthon had very carefully thought through the traditional statements of faith and very skillfully adapted them.

We can especially notice the express references to the Nicene Creed in the very sovereign manner with which Luther makes use of the Schwabach Articles in the Marburg Articles. We must believe the dogma of the ancient church "as resolved by the Council of Nicea and as it is sung and read in the Nicene Creed by the whole Christian church throughout the world" (W 30^{III}, 160, 14 ff.). It was *Luther* who was responsible for the direct references to the Nicene Creed in the Augsburg Confession. He was governed in this not, as has often been maintained, by consideration for the Justinian law which prevailed in the Roman

Empire but by the ecumenical validity of the Nicene Creed and by its general use in the church.

To be sure, when Melanchthon at the beginning of the Augsburg Confession refers to the decisions of the Council of Nicea, he is naturally prompted by political and legal concerns in a political document of this kind. The Augsburg Confession was meant to tie the "Doctrina Evangelica" (this concept already occurs in Roman law) to the dogma of the ancient church, in order to maintain the legality of the Reformation in the sense of Imperial law. The decisive elements, however, are the theological relationships and especially the point of connection which the ancient dogma of the church provided in its doctrine of redemption. The Nicene Creed says of Christ "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate by the Holy Spirit..." In the Augsburg Confession this statement is based upon the ancient tradition of the church.

Thus Melanchthon especially takes two western confessional statements into consideration, the Athanasian Creed, which, as is commonly known, has nothing at all to do with Athanasius but originated in Augustinian circles in Latin in the VIth century, and the Innozentianum, a confessional statement which was formulated at the fourth Lateran council in 1215 as a defence of the Christian faith against the Cathari and ascribed to Pope Innocent III. We should not be surprised that Melanchthon also took this high medieval tradition into consideration in the Augsburg Confession. He did it primarily because the church of the Middle Ages interpreted Christ's work of salvation much more in terms of his death and resurrection while the ancient Greek tradition, along with the Nicene Creed, primarily based the work of redemption upon the incarnation of God. In the Augsburg Confession Melanchthon combines both the Greek and the Western doctrines concerning Christ and ties them up with Luther's formulations of the doctrine of justification.

Melanchthon thereby carries out the intention which Luther initiated in his Confession of 1528. Melanchthon, however, went into greater detail in basing the Confession upon the accumulated dogmatic tradition, particularly that of Western Christendom, thereby tying this Protestant confessional statement very closely to tradition. That which is new in the Reformation formulations of justification and the theology of grace is not to be viewed as an innovation but as something already implied in the tradition. Because it is scriptural and because the doctrines of the Trinity and Christology are also scriptural, therefore the fathers must also have accepted the scriptural witness for justification by faith. Since the faith which justifies is bound to Christ, the revelation in Christ, as the church has confessed it throughout the ages, must provide the basis for the statements made by the Protestant confessions concerning the doctrine of justification. What form does this connection between Christology and the doctrine of justification take?

b) At the end of the article on Christology the Na testifies to the Christ who sits at the right hand of God. He rules and has dominion over all those "who

believe on him, through the Holy Spirit whom he has sent into their hearts." Thus the articles which follow concerning the justification and sanctification of the Christian and the power of the Holy Spirit in Christendom through word and sacrament are all made dependent on Christ and his Spirit; Christ works all things through the Holy Spirit.

This theology of the Spirit represents an original attempt at systematization on Melanchthon's part, an attempt worthy of note. There are, however, three difficulties involved:

1. In this scheme the fact that forgiveness of sins and justification result from the historical work of salvation wrought by the Cross and Resurrection recedes into the background; this is also the case in Na 5, the actual article on justification; here the Incarnation and the receiving of the Holy Spirit are cited as the only presuppositions for justification.

2. If justification is synonymous with the reception of the Spirit, then it appears that the performance of good works is the gift of the Spirit and as such the actual goal of justification. In that case the forgiveness of sins, which is clearly emphasized in Na 5, appears to be merely a preliminary step to the salvation described in Na 6. Only then is justification complete when there is evidence that good works have been performed.

3. Even though the entire process of justification is traced back to the work of the Spirit, nevertheless justice is not done here to the full equality of the Trinity, as we have perceived it in Luther's confession of 1528. To be sure, in the formulation of his confession Melanchthon was apparently much more scholarly than was Luther; even though he was merely able to repeat Luther's affirmations in abbreviated form. In Melanchthon's formulations Christology overshadows Pneumatology; the Spirit, although he effects our justification, is himself only the instrument of the Son, sent by the exalted Christ.

In this truncation of Pneumatology for the sake of Christology Melanchthon indeed differs from Luther. However, he is not following his own inclinations at this point but is deeply imbedded in the Western confessional traditions. Neither the Athanasian Creed nor the Innozentianum contains a full-fledged Pneumatology; instead they limit themselves to Christology. That the Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, and with the Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified—this confessional statement of the Nicene Creed in its Western form finds no corresponding equivalent in the Athanasian. The Innozentianum also omits a doctrine of justification; instead, the doctrine of the sacraments follows directly after Christology. In this regard Melanchthon's original version of the Augsburg Confession represents, without any doubt, a retreat behind Luther's statement of 1528. The tension between the Christ event and the Spirit cannot be resolved by simply making Pneumatology dependent upon Christology. Already in the first half of June, Melanchthon made a new attack upon this problem and sought to resolve it by the present formulation of the Augsburg Confession. To be sure, in CA 3 also, the kingship

of the exalted Christ, who sits at the right hand of God, is bound together with the sending of the Spirit into the hearts of the faithful. However, Christ as the "Lord of all Creation" is alone the acting subject, the power of the Spirit is limited to the preservation of the salvation which Christ has obtained through his sacrifice. Melanchthon related everything which follows in the Augsburg Confession to Christ's sacrifice and to the salvation which comes through him. In the final German version this stands out more clearly, grammatically as well, than in the Latin: justification depends upon Christ alone and on his work of reconciliation. The doctrinal articles of the final text of the Augsburg Confession bear the title: How the Christ, exalted to the right hand of God, shares the fruit of his work of reconciliation with his own through faith. The relationship between the doctrine of justification and the ancient dogma of the church is thereby definitely assured.

V.

The articles which Melanchthon wrote on his own and which were added in order to supplement the already existing corpus of confessional statements arose out of his attempt to better understand the real significance of justification in terms of Christ. They serve to clarify certain articles which were written earlier, to which we have already referred. They also constitute the decisive weapon in the theological controversy in which Melanchthon was involved and thereby show how all of the doctrinal statements of the Augsburg Confession center around the doctrine of justification.

We can here dismiss CA 21. To be sure, it constitutes an important supplement to the article on justification CA 4, but, as do the articles in the second part of the Augsburg Confession, it already has its prototype in the Torgau Articles. As a supplementary article to the doctrine of justification it at the same time provides a transition to the practical and cultic questions dealt with in Part II of the Augsburg Confession.

In CA 5, Melanchthon had already spoken of the activity of the Spirit through word and sacrament upon which the act of faith depends. From the very beginning this relationship between Spirit and faith occupied the foreground in the development of CA 5. In the final version an institutional concern makes a feeble appearance. In Article 14 it is independently dealt with. Here Melanchthon states that the gospel must be publicly proclaimed in the church because the gospel is meant for the entire world; that the administration of the sacraments is, by their very nature, always a public affair. Not everyone can or dare force his way at will into this public ministry; a proper call is necessary. Here the institutional character of the administration of the means of grace which was already implied in CA 5 is expressly proclaimed and properly grounded in opposition to the enthusiasts. The subsequent statements advocating an inde-

pendent Protestant church law referred back to CA 14. The fact that Melanchthon placed this article after the doctrine of the sacraments, and thereby at the conclusion of the doctrine of the means of grace, but yet before that dealing with the merely human rites and ceremonies of the church, evidences the significance which he accorded the public proclamation of the gospel and the orderly call to the ministry.

Two further articles which Melanchthon wrote on his own supplement his statements on original sin in CA 2. The simplest is the interpretation in CA 19: On the Origin of Sin. It stands in close relationship to the Innozentianum of 1215. The Pope had already at that time inserted an article concerning the fall of the Devil and the origin of sin between the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology. This he did in opposition to the neo-Manichean doctrines of the Cathari, who posited the Devil as an independent principle in contrast to God. In opposition to the Cathari, the fourth Lateran council stressed that God created the Devil and the demonic forces as well as the entire invisible spirit world as free beings, and it was only through their own decision that they became evil. Man, however, fell into sin through the influence of the Devil. CA 19 takes this up, thereby freeing God the Creator from any original connection with sin, and traces it back to the evil will of the Devil and the godless. Melanchthon's return to the metaphysics of scholasticism was prompted by Eck's attempt to label Melanchthon as a new Manichean in his 404 Articles. In contrast to this, the formulation of CA 18 (on free will) goes back to a direct suggestion of Luther's. At the same time this presented Melanchthon with an opportunity to clarify more precisely his own position in the famous debate between Luther and Erasmus on the question of free will. In a clear reference to Erasmus, in his Confession of 1528 Luther damned all doctrines "which extol our free will, as such which directly oppose the help and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ." Luther's doctrine of original sin developed from his rejection of free will. The fact that Melanchthon returned to this problem in Augsburg and once again referred to Luther's confession of 1528 in this regard undoubtedly has its ground in Eck's 404 Articles as well. Here the discussion of the question of free will which was carried on in the Leipzig disputations was once more taken up. At the same time Melanchthon in CA 18 steps forward in defence of Luther.

The fact that Melanchthon again in CA 20 deals specifically with the relationship between faith and good works was probably not discussed with Luther at the preparatory negotiations in Torgau; the preparatory draft of CA 20 which we possess did not therefore belong to the Torgau Articles, but was first written during the time at Augsburg, which in my opinion was in the first half of June. The preliminary draft, in the form in which we have it, undoubtedly resulted from the deliberations of a commission. Melanchthon's contributions cannot be traced in detail. However, the entire document accords with Melanchthon's point of view. The present version undoubtedly received its final form from him and that, as we can see from various formulations, at a time when CA 4-6

were already available in their present shape. Article 20 concludes the discussions on the doctrine of justification which Melanchthon carried on until as late as June and which were involved in the relationship between justification and Christology.

VI.

We have seen how the Augsburg Confession grew piece by piece under the careful hand of its author, Melanchthon. To be sure, we have only been able to illustrate this growth process by means of a few particularly important sections of his confessional statement, but despite obvious gaps in the subject matter it is possible to formulate the results which we have won in this way with a fair degree of certainty for the entire Confession. Not only do they show Melanchthon's working method but they also point out the sources of his theological knowledge. We can summarise the results as follows:

1) Melanchthon did not write the Augsburg Confession independently, but was dependent upon Luther in his general approach as well as in individual details. Even when he formulated original articles, he, for the most part, expressed not his own ideas but those of Luther.

2) But in no way could this be described as a slavish dependence. Melanchthon's relationship to Luther was characterised by an inner freedom, even though they were bound together by a common concern.

3) Basing himself upon Luther's private confession of 1528 and constantly referring back to it, Melanchthon transformed the personal testament of the reformer into a classical compilation of evangelical ecclesiastical truths and doctrines. First in the Schwabach Articles, then, in an expanded and therefore better way, in the various stages of the Augsburg Confession.

4) Thereby Melanchthon, as well as Luther, identified himself with the traditional confessions of the ancient church, at the same time making wider use of the traditions than Luther had done, through his own study of the church fathers and his constant reference to the development of western confessional statements including the *Innozentianum*.

5) Thereby Melanchthon basically retains the trinitarian framework chosen by Luther, although he is not able to bring the Christological and Pneumatological elements into proper balance as did the latter, but in the end truncates the Pneumatological for the sake of the Christological.

6) Through this truncation the doctrine of justification acquires its final form, in which the emphasis upon Christ's vicarious atonement attains predominance and influences the entire doctrinal content of the Augsburg Confession. The systematic witness of the Augsburg Confession consists in uniting Christ's saving act and our justification, Christ's work of reconciliation (which is based upon the basic principles of ancient Christology) and our faith in this same work of Christ—namely, in uniting the basic insights of the ancient church and the Reformation.

The Development of Melanchthon's Theological-Philosophical World View ¹

ROBERT STUPPERICH

THE UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN has special cause to observe the 400th anniversary of the death of Philipp Melanchthon. The humanist, who became famous quite early in life, came from this university. Here, as student and as teacher, he laid the scientific foundations upon which he was later to build. Here, through the friendships which were very beneficial to him, he sought new approaches and outlined plans for the future.

I

At that time there were two stars in the scientific firmament which determined Melanchthon's course—Johann Reuchlin and Erasmus of Rotterdam. Reuchlin, the elder of the two, was related to Melanchthon. He had guided him from childhood on, and had cared for his basic education. However, during the years of Melanchthon's spiritual development the influence of Reuchlin gave way to that of Erasmus as the determining factor. Without having been personally acquainted with him, Melanchthon, along with the entire education-hungry younger generation, fell under the influence of the stimulating, gifted Erasmus whose thought was much more flexible and contemporaneous than that of Reuchlin. Not that Master Philipp followed him in all things! Just as he was basically no Reuchlian, so he never actually became an Erasmanian. In his opinion, both of these masters, despite the different ways which they went, tended in the same general direction. In what amounted to a personal confession, he wrote that he himself never intended to forsake the general outlines of this position.² Both Reuchlin and Erasmus wrote a foreword to the world history of Johann Naclerus which Melanchthon edited. Even though he owed a great many decisive ideas to them during the Tübingen years, he nevertheless followed his own course of development. Reuchlin was right when he later informed Frederick the Wise that he had instructed Melanchthon in languages and had been his teacher from childhood on, ... but to say that Melanchthon is "meum opus" would be going too far.³ As far as fundamental principles are concerned, the young philologist and philosopher did not follow Reuchlin beyond his instruction in languages, but allied himself with Erasmus and other masters instead. In contrast to others, Melanchthon acknowledged his debt to the great king of the humanists

¹ Speech given at the Melanchthon anniversary-celebrations of Tübingen University on May 12, 1960.

² *Corpus Reformatorum* 1, 21.

³ C. R. 1, 32.

while Erasmus was still alive.⁴ In a letter to the venerable Erasmus he expressed the view that he could actually agree with all that Erasmus had taught.

Whether because of personal reasons, or whether because of the didactic burden in the Burse which led Melanchthon to complain about the "Egasterion" in Tübingen, we do not know exactly, but obviously he hoped that he might be better able to devote himself to his scientific studies somewhere else. Reuchlin gave his approval when in the spring of 1518 Melanchthon negotiated with Frederick the Wise about the new chair for Greek in Wittenberg. Reuchlin knew about it and said: "A prophet is without honor in his own country." The old humanist was indebted to Frederick. Had he been younger, he himself would have gone to Wittenberg in order to teach classical languages. Since he was not able to do so, he recommended his "dearly beloved nephew," Philipp Schwartzert. The Elector took Reuchlin's recommendation seriously. He issued the call, particularly since his university had already called scholars from southern Germany.⁵

Master Philipp's departure was scarcely noticed in Tübingen. Only his old teacher from Pforzheim, Georg Simmler, regretted it. And Melanchthon? He apparently knew very little about Wittenberg. The relationships between the two universities were not close enough for him to obtain first-hand information. Apparently he knew little more about Luther whom he classed along with the other humanists.

Seldom has an academic appointment had such consequences. Reuchlin had boasted to Frederick the Wise that in all of Germany his Philipp was surpassed by no one but Erasmus. And already in 1515, Erasmus believed that the young scholar would soon leave him in the shade.⁶ But Melanchthon had the advantage of still having his life ahead of him.

He was not subject to the cautions of old age as was Erasmus. Instead he possessed ingenuity, combined with a bold desire to get ahead. Melanchthon sensed the really significant problems of his day. Thus it was no accident that 400 students soon filled the hall where the 21-year old professor, who was generally regarded in Wittenberg as an unusual individual, lectured. In his flowing professor's robe, this small, slender man cut something of a comical figure. In Wittenberg, the street urchins used to follow him. But the students knew what they had in him. Melanchthon did more than merely repeat what the humanists had taught. He expressed his own opinions in the course of the discussions, and the scope of his interests was unusually wide.

In Tübingen, he did not restrict himself to lecturing on the classics. His own inclinations led him back to the classroom. He heard lectures on the theology of Occam and occupied himself with it. He enjoyed greatly the difficult philoso-

⁴ C. R. I, 946.

⁵ K. Hannemann: "Reuchlin und die Berufung Melanchthons nach Wittenberg," in *Festsache Johann Reuchlin*, Pforzheim, 1955, P. 104 f.

⁶ *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, edited by E. Stähelin I. 1934. p. 39.

phical work which was expected of the students at that time. He once said of Occam's theology that it was his whole delight. Its sharply drawn dialectic suited his inquiring spirit. But this opinion did not last; he later called Tübingen philosophy a betrayal of the heart. Even Stadianus and Simler adhered to the ancients. The truth which came from heaven was forced into exile.⁷ Much later, Melanchthon still insisted to Spalatin that he was a philosopher. He never placed much value on external comforts or pleasant surroundings, but he valued the opportunity to carry on scholarly activities. This was his whole passion. Had he restricted himself to one area of research, he would undoubtedly have reached certain basic conclusions which would have forwarded his science in a decisive manner. But he was not to become a second Erasmus; he was to take another road. Reuchlin surmised that his best student was striking out for new shores. As Melanchthon set out for Wittenberg, he sent him on his way with the blessing of Abraham from Genesis 12.

Melanchthon was not to go unnoticed in Wittenberg. From the very beginning, he was acknowledged as a real scholar. He arrived with definite philosophical presuppositions and encountered there positions which were no less conclusive, and which came to exert their influence upon him. He could not escape the very strong influence of the new Wittenberg theology. He was drawn into its paths and it was to have a determining effect upon his life.

In his famous inaugural lectures on educational reforms, he developed his humanistic program. What he was unable to achieve in Tübingen, he hoped to accomplish in Wittenberg. He was conscious of bringing something new, and began his work with a clear sense of call. He went back to the sources, not in order to imitate classical styles, but in order better to grasp the subject. This concern for the subject matter was typical of him. In the spirit of Erasmus he turned his attention to religion. In a world which was not only subject to humanistic influences, but which was also open to Pauline-Augustinian ideas, Melanchthon's Christian-humanistic position and his attack upon Scholasticism found ready acceptance. Even though he was influenced in many respects by Rotterdam, he went his own way and championed his own opinions, often with great stubbornness. By taking up the ideas which prevailed in the world of Wittenberg, Melanchthon deepened his own perspectives and began to build up a system in which the idea of natural science began to give way to that of biblical revelation. The way led from Aristotle to the Apostle Paul, and finally to a *philosophia Paulina*.

The 24-year old author of the *Loci communes* was by no means finished with his total system, however. In Wittenberg he had acquired theological motivations and had adjusted his thought to new perspectives. The world of the Bible had a direct influence upon him. Under the influence of Luther's teachings, he was ready to give up his humanistic attitudes, and to replace them with Pauline-Reformation ideas. But this developmental phase was resolved by a different one.

⁷ C. R. 1, 25.

In the light of the restlessness and fanaticism which he encountered in Wittenberg, Melanchthon committed himself to other views. It became clear to him, while occupying himself with Patristics, that completely new explanations must be found for the mystery of human fate. Melanchthon believed that nothing genuine had really been written about man himself, and that he must devote himself to this theme.⁸ His research determined the inner transformation which he underwent toward the end of the twenties. It can only be mentioned here. Although events of world-wide importance kept him from his private studies for a long time, he was nevertheless able to bring out a revised version of his *Loci* in 1535. The experiences of the last ten years as well as further philosophical studies led Melanchthon to give up the doctrine of predestination which he had at first advocated. His philosophical sense was offended by the necessity to ascribe evil itself to God. Although he had for a time cherished the opinions of Laurentius Valla, he now rejected them. Classical philosophy again began to exercise a strong influence upon him. The heritage of humanism again became a determining factor, not only as far as language was concerned, but also in his ideas.

Melanchthon himself did not have any easy road. The decisions which he occasionally had to make met with strong opposition. His attempts to mediate peace and harmony actually gave rise to opposition and strife. This made life difficult for this peace-loving man, who could, however, be quite obstinate in his opinions. His ideas did not differ greatly from other students of Luther. Many of those who opposed him really came into their own through Melanchthon. Basically, no one was his equal. He was not concerned merely with individual dogmatic statements, but with a complete renewal of theological thought and life. He acknowledged that the only purpose behind his theological work was the betterment of life. It is to his credit that he produced a complete Christian philosophy of life despite some rather narrow ideas. Harnack compared his exhaustive and universal system of thought to those of Leibniz and Kant.⁹ Despite the restrictions of his own age, he recognized the problems which man must face in every age. For this reason, he is relevant to the present age. He never avoided intellectual problems, regardless how difficult they might be, but made every attempt to resolve them and to always respect truth.

As an educator, he never lost sight of his goal. His whole life he devoted to the task of challenging men to *pietas et doctrina*. He had the gift of winning men's trust. He was respected by all and loved by many. His students were also his friends, and his best friend, Joachim Camerarius, who later became professor of philology at Tübingen and at Leipzig, accompanied him through four decades.¹⁰ Melanchthon had the knack of viewing each person as an individual and he

⁸ C. R. 1, 156.

⁹ A. Harnack: *Melanchthon 1897 in Reden und Aufsätze I*, 1904.

¹⁰ H. Wendorf: *Joachim Camerarius in Herbergen der Christenheit, Jahrbuch für deutsche Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. 2, 1957. P. 34 f.

knew how to challenge a person. His relationships to his students differed greatly from the usual, he raised questions in his lectures, he examined their knowledge, he sought to exercise their capacity to express their own opinions. The efforts of the Praeceptor Germaniae were well rewarded. Melanchthon was recognized as the best oriented authority in questions of education and learning. But his influence extended far beyond this into the realms of faith and culture.

II

It is worthy of notice that Melanchthon does not express his theological system in the same way in his *Loci theologici*, which accompanied him throughout his academic life, as he does in his letters, lectures and occasional writings. This has its reasons. The *Loci* was intended as a textbook for schools and universities. Just as Melanchthon in earlier years set himself the task of writing a polemical work against Peter Lombard, so his outline of the *Loci* was unconsciously oriented around the thought of Lombard. The most pressing theological questions were dealt with in the *Loci*, and they were continually restated and amplified by new questions during the course of the next quarter century.¹¹ Apparently, Melanchthon, when writing this work, did not consider his primary task to be the presentation of a complete systematic theology. He always took scrupulous care that no personal opinion, no unique interpretation, no innovation in thought should occupy the foreground. He did not want to be known as the originator of innovations, but wanted merely to bring the uniform doctrine of the church, as it was derived from the Holy Scriptures and the Church Fathers and universally accepted throughout the church, to full expression. He was less concerned with writing a complete system than that individual questions should receive thorough treatment. These were summarized in a brief manner, something in the style of a compendium.

Although Melanchthon was continually engaged in rethinking the questions of the Christian faith and in stating his own views, he guarded himself against giving full rein to every brooding idea. He sharply rejected the rationalistic tendencies originating in Italy; he opposed the spiritualists. He feared that an incalculable evil would result if the doctrines developed in the ancient church were broken; this would be injurious to the Christian fellowship. As much as he thought through the dogmas of the early church, he nevertheless did not undermine them. He regarded them as fully based upon Scripture and thus did not criticize them.

The attack upon the dogma of the church which Michael Servetus published in *De trinitatis erroribus* in 1531, occupied Melanchthon continuously. However, he was not as quick to write a refutation as was Martin Bucer in Strasbourg.

¹¹ To what extent this theological textbook has made its mark is to be seen fairly clearly when its final form, just as the C. R., is taken as basic, and the earlier editions are only mentioned for purposes of comparison in significant places. A synoptical presentation would show even better the development of Melanchthon's theological thinking.

The objections of Servetus troubled him for decades, but it was not until towards the end of his life that Melanchthon brought out his arguments against Servetus.

During the years that Melanchthon took in Lelio Sozzini and recommended him to the King of Poland, he was apparently not at all aware that he had just as decided a rationalist at his side. A knowledge of human nature was not one of Melanchthon's strongest virtues, and his good-heartedness often led him to be deceived. Well acquainted as he was with ancient philosophy, he was by no means prepared to proceed alone from human presuppositions as the Italians were. Instead, he chose to travel a path similar to that of Augustine in *De Trinitate*, without becoming dependent upon him. His own refutation of anti-trinitarian positions shows how much these attacks upon the main dogmas of the church occupied his attention.

Biblical revelation was the decisive authority for him. Even the creeds derive their significance from biblical revelation. Even though he was prepared to meet his opponents on the same ground, his decisive arguments were taken from biblical revelation, which he did not allow to be undermined. Even though he originally took philosophical presuppositions as his starting point, he later yielded these positions to a new approach which combined philosophical knowledge and theological perspectives.

He regarded the biblical word and not speculation as the source of true knowledge. This shows how much Melanchthon was influenced by Luther. Independent as he was of the traditions of the church, the biblical revelation was, in the last analysis, the decisive thing for him. Not the least, it was Melanchthon himself who supported Luther's resolve to take this approach in the early years, regardless of the consequences which this position might have.

Understandably enough, we frequently find views expressed in the *Loci*, which betray his own unique interpretation, as for example, when he calls Christ the *imago cogitatione patris genita* implying that in Christ God achieves his own self-consciousness (*cognitio sui*), but these views are always developed within the realms of the Bible and the Church Fathers. His textbook does reject certain errors which were prominent at that time, but it refrains from thorough-going polemics. One can see that it grew out of lectures, as did all of Melanchthon's textbooks. Thus it contains many excursions, interpretations of difficult biblical texts, historical essays, etc. It could be said that the Praeceptor went about the formation of his textbook in much the same manner as Luther did his Catechism. Just as Luther in no way included his theological views on ubiquity and the *communicatio idiomatum* in his writings intended for purposes of instruction but developed them in the larger treatises on Holy Communion so Melanchthon also does not include them. The *Loci* remains a textbook, intended to mediate theological knowledge and to supply doctrinal information through constant reference to the Scriptures.

When Melanchthon develops his theological views in letters or in occasional writings, he proceeds in a much different manner than he did in the *Loci*. When

he introduces scholars or young rulers to various aspects of his world view, he naturally begins with his understanding of God.

Melanchthon recalled that Erasmus, in a similar situation, had written the *Institutio principis christiani* as a guide for the young King Karl, who later became Kaiser Karl V.¹² This was an educational work, which at the same time proposed various reforms. The second edition which Erasmus brought out was dedicated to Karl's brother, the Archduke Ferdinand. He carefully chose its contents for the prince. The fact that he chose the Proverbs from the Bible and various parts of the Gospels betrays the personal approach of the great humanist. He valued historical situations as examples according to which future rulers could govern their own conduct in specific instances. Furthermore, this guide for princes contained a whole series of moral instructions.

Melanchthon did not imitate this kind of manual of instruction as Erasmus had developed it. Because of his pedagogical experience, he did not rely on compiling doctrinal statements. When writing a guide for his own princes, whether for the Duke of Liegnitz or for Johann Friedrich of Pommerania, he attempted to clarify for them their own historical situation.¹³ Then he developed an entire philosophy of life. The main emphasis was placed not on individual examples or ethical instructions, but on the will of God, the Creator and Redeemer, who also establishes rulers in his world and in his order, mediates definite insights to them, and places specific demands and duties upon them. The individual reader can himself draw the consequences from this total view which Melanchthon sketches in an emphatic way, without being subject to the constant pressure of moral exhortations.

Melanchthon does not reject all proofs for God. He varies his ideas in many ways, but they all point to the fact that man can see *signa providentiae* in this world.¹⁴ Traces of the Creator's hand have been impressed upon the *Corpora mundi*.¹⁵ God can be recognized in the natural life. "The beautiful order of the yearly course of the sun is a clear manifestation of the fact that nature has been fashioned by a wise and orderly Master."¹⁶

But not only the greatness and order of the creation testify to the Creator; man can be much more convinced of God's power and wisdom by observing the way in which the world and mankind are preserved. Left to itself the world, and humanity, would destroy itself in endless wars and destructive strife. That the world had persevered to that day was for Master Philipp the best proof of the *praesentia Dei* in this world.¹⁷ It contains an order which God established at the beginning and which he intends to see maintained despite the struggle between good and evil. In fact, precisely because of the struggle, this blessed

¹² *Erasmi Opera* ed. Clericus 2, 207 f., cf. E. Newald: *Erasmus*. 1947. P. 137 f.

¹³ C. R. 8, 837; 9, 909.

¹⁴ C. R. 8, 405.

¹⁵ C. R. 7, 576; 8, 424.

¹⁶ C. R. 5, 510.

¹⁷ C. R. 9, 380.

order which has been established in life must be preserved. God himself sees this by himself acting directly as Lord of history and judge in the struggles of men and nations.

The gracious providence of God stands behind all historical events. "What God has made, this he will also preserve." This assertion echoes continually throughout Melanchthon's thoughts. Men must be continually aware that they do not trust alone in human counsel, but that one greater than they stands behind them and, as Luther says, "turns the wheel." Melanchthon not only emphasizes the hidden, mysterious God, but the God who orders and governs clearly and wisely.

Above natural revelation stand God's direct word, his voice, by which he speaks to man, and his commandment which he gives to man. Revelation alone mediates the truth in its fullness and gives knowledge of God and man. God works in man through his word and his Spirit which Melanchthon calls the *spiritus sapiens*.¹⁸

Melanchthon stresses that God did not create one individual man at the creation, but the human type; from the act of creation issued the *Societas generis humani*. All of mankind proceeds from God's creative hand. Since mankind is God's creation, it belongs closely bound to him, even though with the fall a weakening of its abilities has taken place. Humanity is no longer basically a *Societas*, it has broken up into individual groups and even into a whole lot of single individuals.

Melanchthon's classical studies led him to turn his attention to anthropology in particular. It is remarkable to note how Melanchthon even at Tübingen devoted himself not so much to abstract questions as was the custom of the day, but to the concrete problems which arose out of his own environment. This manner of questioning and research remained unique to him. Even in later decades, Melanchthon, beginning with Aristotle, concerned himself with psychological facts. His understanding of mankind which was already implied in many of his writings was finally summarized in his book *De anima*. This was the first thorough psychology since Peter Lombard. His interest was not primarily scientific, as he again stated, but was at the same time practical. He combines the statements and observations of the classics with those of the Bible, especially those of Paul at the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, thus making them usable in education.

Melanchthon considers it most important that men be aware of certain definite facts. He identifies this basic knowledge with the intuition which the Stoics taught. Included among these insights (*notitiae*), and most important of all, is the knowledge of God, who is truth, righteousness and freedom. This knowledge also provides man with certain norms for his conduct. Those who reckon with the existence of God cannot act contrary to the commands in the

¹⁸ C. R. 13, 120 f.

second table of the Decalogue. On the basis of his experience, his ability to discriminate, and the definite ideas which he holds, man follows these commands which belong to his very nature. Being a Christian thinker, however, Melanchthon includes the revelation of God as the normative act to which man, moved by God himself, surrenders himself and which he acknowledges to be the truth.

Man must distinguish between true and false criteria; if he does not do so, great evil will result. The philosopher who does not have his eyes on the ultimate goal deviates, as Melanchthon says, from the truth. Human initiative can take him only up to a certain point. The natural man strives after the comforts and pleasures of life. Mere knowledge of God does not lead him far enough. He has no firm hold; he does not possess the power to help himself. Finally, he does not know what he ought to do, and in the end he despairs of everything.

From the Scriptures and from experience, Melanchthon is aware of the weakness of the natural man. He is not the victim of illusion when he, nevertheless, speaks of man's free will. Man certainly does possess the freedom to decide, but he lacks the will power always to choose the right. When temptation presses in upon him, he succumbs, as experience teaches.

For this reason Melanchthon deems it especially important to make clear to man that the human element (*Humanum*) cannot endure alone. It derives its value and its significance from the divine. If man is not to fall victim to an illusion, be it extravagant idealism or scepticism, then he must continually be reminded that he is not the source of his own life and henceforth he cannot live for himself alone. His existence is not by chance. God has created him, and moreover, God has created man in his own image. The idea of the *imago Dei* was always a very important and great one for Melanchthon. Both man's intellectual capacities and his desire for righteousness and wisdom testify to the divine. This predisposition, which man had acquired by virtue of the creation, is immortal in Melanchthon's view. Man can exercise righteousness and he can attain wisdom.

The image of God is to a great extent hidden in man underneath error and doubt. His heart is often subject to alien impulses which lead him in the wrong path. Nevertheless, man retains his knowledge of God and the ability to distinguish good from evil. These are concrete faculties which belong to the best and eternal inheritance of man.

Natural knowledge can teach us nothing more about man. God's revelation must be added to natural knowledge. It proclaims the abiding nature of God which expresses itself as goodness and mercy. God does not allow man to destroy himself. He desires to rescue man and to restore him to his original condition. The *restitutio hominis* about which Erasmus of Rotterdam had already spoken in connection with the Scriptures is also the divine promise to which Melanchthon holds. It is intended that man will again live a full and godly life. He will again share in the truth and will in this way again embody the image of God. This is his goal. His whole life aims at this goal. He himself must take heed that he

remains on this path, that he experience an inner development, that he does not merely mark time or perhaps even retrogress. The Holy Scriptures and natural knowledge are his guides.

Man is a marvelous being. His being is unfathomable. Every man must himself choose between good and evil. He possesses the will to decide and he cannot stand passively by. Melanchthon very clearly stated this position and stubbornly maintained it ever since his commentary on Colossians and his *Instructions for the Visitors*, 1527. Under *liberum arbitrium* he understands the collaboration of reason and will. Despite all of his inhibitions and human weaknesses, man can not only recognize the divine will, but can also agree with it and accept it for himself. In his opinion, this view which he finds substantiated in the Scriptures fully corresponds to reality. How can a teacher or a preacher have any real effect upon mankind if he does not hold this view? He finds similar statements in the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans. The final cause is certainly God himself; but God has granted man knowledge and conscience, and according to these man should govern himself. Already on the basis of his natural predisposition man is set on the path of obedience, to follow God's commandments and his will. Certainly, he cannot do this by virtue of his own power alone. Moved by the Holy Spirit, man acknowledges God's revelation and submits himself to the truth. Contingency and necessity are not the forces which compel man and which determine his course. Because man knows himself subject to God, there can be no talk here of any kind of synergism in the real sense of the word. And Melanchthon defended himself against this accusation. He considered himself merely an instrument in the hand of God, but a responsible instrument.

Melanchthon sketches his anthropology, which does not differ essentially from that in the *Loci*, within this theocentric framework. He never again painted so grey a picture as is the case in the *Confessio Augustana* 2. Man no longer possesses the decisive talents undamaged, but if there is anything essential which he has managed to rescue from his original state, then it is his free will. Melanchthon is here guided by empiricism. He derives this conclusion from the concrete facts of life. However, he does not completely reject the speculative element. As a part of creation, the *creatura*, man is united with his Creator and possesses powers which testify to this relationship. The *liberum arbitrium* is proof of this. Again and again Melanchthon repeated the statement of the famous John Chrysostom: "God draws man to Himself, but He only calls him whom He will." Man says "yes" to the will of God, which is more than a blind fate.

But the freedom to choose is not all. It is much more important to Melanchthon that God be known as a personal God, whose *providentia* extends to the whole of creation and above all to man.

God's providence acts in nature and in history. God's providence can be seen in all natural occurrences as well as in human history, or more correctly stated, these occurrences refer man back to God's providence. In his wisdom

God has established orders in human society for the preservation of mankind. Certainly the kingdoms of this world have not been established by God. The power of evil is also at work in them. To be sure, the kingdoms of this world and their rulers are subject to God's greater order of salvation, but there is a continual struggle between good and evil being waged within them. Thus wild revolution and frightening events continually occur. Melanchthon here holds to the biblical schema of the four kingdoms. He did not view the Ottoman empire as a genuine kingdom. In his eyes, Turkey was no kingdom but merely God's instrument for punishment. His Biblicism could not allow for a *quinta monarchia*.¹⁹ He knew, however, that the authorities which were ordained by God had the responsibility for maintaining justice and order even in the midst of evil events. The pursuit of peace was up to them. They must be the *domicilium Dei*. More than this, it is God's saving will that the authorities should in this manner extend the *hospitium* to the church.

Here God's other realm makes its appearance in this world.

Just as God has provided that his voice, his word, should be heard in the world, so that men could be called into the church, into the *consociatio Ecclesiae*, through the *vox Evangelii*, so he also protects this his *coetus*. Certainly it is often terribly mistreated, certainly many of its members are put to death, so that only a few remain, but this remnant never disappears from the church. In this connection, Melanchthon continually stresses that this *coetus* of faithful men has a wonderful *dux*. He fights for them and pleads their cause because they are members of his body. The presence of Christ in the congregation through his word is a source of great comfort to Master Philipp. Again and again in times of need he arouses courage in himself and in others by recalling the presence of Christ. Not that the Lutheran idea of *Christus in nobis* is changed by Melanchthon into *Christus pro nobis*. Both ideas were held by both reformers. Melanchthon himself is fully aware of the idea of the *Christusgemeinschaft* (fellowship in Christ). In fact, this idea is very important to him. If in his treatment of the creation, he stressed the idea that the individual person shares in God by virtue of the creation, then this latter idea is also strongly emphasized by his Christology.

The church differs from every other human organization because Christ is at work in her. When we consider the protection which the church has experienced throughout the centuries, then this is the best proof for the presence of God in the church. Melanchthon is concerned that the sources remain pure and that the word of God has free room to work. Christ and the word are identical for Melanchthon as they were for Luther. Christ is the life principle, he leads man to the true knowledge of God and so works in man that he live up to God's word.

In the "guide" which he wrote for Duke Johann Friedrich of Pommerania, Melanchthon elaborated upon this idea: he calls Christ the heavenly rose (*rosa coelestis*) which gives light and life to men. This picture is related not only to

¹⁹ C. R. 8, 869.

the Old Testament, but also refers to the parable of the Pearl of Great Price. With this picture he not only refers to the Proverbs of the Old Testament, but he also takes the parable of the Pearl of Great Price as a symbol for Christ (Matt. 13). Allegorical interpretations do not disturb him. The Pearl of Great Price is the gospel, and thus it is Christ himself. He is the living principle; thus Melanchthon can say: Christ works through the Holy Spirit.

Everything which God does for man out of pure goodness and mercy—and this the reformers along with Paul call his righteousness—Christ effects through the Holy Spirit. Here again Melanchthon underscores two things: this work of God expresses the fact that God forgives man all his sins and accepts him (*remissio peccatorum* and *acceptatio*). The Holy Spirit makes man conscious of the fact that God has bestowed his grace upon man by working a new life in him. To counteract his sins, something decisive is given to him, the power of new life, a new obedience.

Melanchthon lived his later years in the conviction that the world was entering into its final phase, that it was approaching its end. Or he spoke of the senility of the world, and emphasized that the world of his day had become insane. He combined this eschatological observation with an interpretation in which the historical events of his day were identified with the fearful signs in the biblical prophecies. To mention just one example, take his interpretation of the Livonian War. As Czar Ivan the Terrible invaded Livonia in 1557 and the Kalmuck hordes swarmed over the land spreading terror and destruction wherever they went, Melanchthon, on the basis of various ideas and statements in the Old Testament and in Herodotus, espoused the view that the prophecies of Ezekiel around 38/39 were being fulfilled: Gog and Magog stood before the door. However, in great and small events alike he saw terrible and fearful signs of the end. These ideas constantly grew stronger with him and they comprised a permanent part of his faith.

Melanchthon, who governed himself strictly according to the astrological constellations and who frequently saw in them signs of the future evil ordained by the will of God, combined these signs with biblical prophecies. He thus developed a morbid world view. Since, in his opinion, life on earth was becoming progressively more difficult and frightening, he did not place great value upon it. He was tired of the struggle and longed for the end of all his sufferings.

Melanchthon's hopes and expectations were based on the theory of reunion, which he regarded as Scriptural. He held on to it tightly and reaffirmed this hope at every death. It was his hope that he would be reunited in heaven with those friends and relatives who had passed on. When in Heidelberg in 1557 he received word of the death of his wife, and he is reported to have gazed up into heaven and to have said softly: Live in peace, I shall soon follow! This expectation of heaven which animated him, he clothed in a variety of pictures and expressions. Melanchthon speaks of heaven and of eternal life as the *schola* or the *Academia coelestis*. These pictures were not merely chosen because the

Praeceptor so dearly loved his school, and enjoyed being there, nor because he could think of nothing more pleasant. He chose this theme to illustrate that man on earth has not come as far as he should; he still lacks a great deal. The Christian perfection of which Melanchthon speaks in CA 27 is not the final one; it needs a further fulfillment which only heaven can provide.

On a piece of paper which Melanchthon wrote a few days before his death, whereon he outlined the advantages of eternal life, he listed standing in the presence of God in first place. Then, however, he wrote something which is remarkable for Melanchthon: "You will then understand the wonderful mysteries which you could not comprehend during your life." Along with Luther, he had experienced many mysteries in his life (as well as in his faith) which he did not dare to grasp with his own bare hands. The most important of these mysteries were the following: "why we were created as we are and not differently, and in what the union of the two natures of Christ really consist."

Eternity in all of its glory stood before the eyes of the Praeceptor whose thoughts were continually preoccupied with death. In heaven there would be no sin and no *rabies theologorum*. He was drawn to that place where there would be nothing but truth and clarity, and for one who had always consciously followed the straight path and had taught the Christian faith clearly and purely, eternity was a wonderful goal.

²⁰ Cf. Nik. Müller: *Melanchthons letzte Lebensstage*. 1910.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

The Lutheran World Federation greets its president, Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, on the 60th anniversary of his birthday, which he observed during the month of August. As it did a year ago on the occasion of Bishop Lilje's birthday, the Lutheran World again honors one of its leaders.

All of our readers will join with me in this tribute to a man who has been very active in the councils of the Federation from its very inception. With his acceptance of the presidency of the United Lutheran Church in America in 1944 he quickly emerged as one of the important figures in the developments of the LWF, assisting in writing the constitution and in the discussions in Lund, Sweden, in 1947, at its adoption; member of the Executive Committee since that time and now serving as president since 1957. He has been extremely helpful in all points, especially in guiding the direction which this confessional movement will take.

It is clear that one cannot call him a "confessionalist" in the narrow sense of the word because, as his record clearly shows, while active in LWF affairs, he has had parallel interests in the development of the ecumenical movement through the World Council of Churches. He has served the interests of the Federation loyally and actively all these years. Like his predecessors he, as president, has helped the Lutheran World Federation break ground in many important areas of work.

Naturally, in his tasks which are astoundingly arduous, he has been able to travel widely, both on behalf of the LWF and the WCC. Therefore his knowledge of the situation among the churches, both within the LWF and other church bodies, is remarkably wide and clear. He brings to the task a clarity of judgment based on accurate information which can be matched by very few. It is well recognized that his qualities of leadership in all matters dealing with the life of the church become apparent the moment one has personal contact with him. One has the impression that, as a US citizen, he is astoundingly open to the needs and wishes of non-US peoples and churches.

It is significant that he has been chairman of the highly successful venture among the Lutheran churches of the USA in the cause of the Lutheran World Relief. He has made it abundantly clear on the continent of North America that total Lutheran unity is the goal for his country and for his church. Though this goal may temporarily seem improbable, his aim has been very clear and it is in this direction that he has guided the discussions.

Despite all these tasks and responsibilities he has not forgotten his pastoral duties. Here I can write from personal experience of the last months of my office.

We are thankful to God that such a man as Dr. Fry and others who have part in the guidance of the LWF have been given us in these years. I am sure that I can express with sincerity and with a full heart our warmest tribute to our president in this year of 1960.

* * *

It has become more apparent to me during my absence from the office that there needs to be a continued rapprochement between the churches of the East and the West. It seems unfortunate that contacts of a healthy constructive kind at every level of church life between churches of one political system and the other are still not what they ought to be. I came back to my task here in Geneva with a stronger feeling of the urgency of seeking to find ways in which these contacts can become increasingly fruitful and important. I recognize full well that there are many difficulties on both sides for initiating such contacts. What has happened between blocks of countries must not be permitted to happen between the churches. We must realize that in the kind of inter-dependent world in which we live contacts through normal channels are becoming daily more pressing. Yet the church has not been very successful in achieving the kind of interplay of spiritual forces among all our churches that would be desirable.

Fortunately in these last years there have been many attempts, some successful and some unsuccessful, to keep alive the bonds of fellowship between Christian congregations and groups in all parts of the world. This aspect of our work naturally should precede any program of Inter-Church Aid, important as that is. I would hope that at every level and in all areas of church work there can be understanding and appreciation for the kinds of situations in which Christian congregations find themselves today. When using the terms "East" and "West", I refer mainly to those churches living in societies that are today differently oriented politically. We must in every way try to keep alive contacts that make it possible for churches to know each other, understand each other and, above all, to pray for one another. An officer such as the Executive Secretary often feels a certain sense of isolation at the loss of direct and close contact with a number of member churches. Should this loss of contact be due to an individual's political orientation, we should seek to find adequate people to fill that need.

CARL E. LUND-QUIST.

World Mission

Antsirabé, 1960

FOLLOWING UP THE REQUEST of the first All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika, in 1955, the Department of World Mission, with the authorization of the Commission, has called a second All-Africa Conference to be held in Antsirabé, Madagascar, September 8-18, 1960. Preparations for the conference have been completed as this issue of LUTHERAN WORLD goes to press. What is presented here is a preview of what the Department hopes will be a significant step in the furtherance of the gospel on this continent.

No one who has followed the tumultuous course of political events in Africa during the past months will fail to appreciate the special difficulties, the delicate tensions and the challenging opportunities for Christian witness involved in a conference of almost 200 persons (including visitors and guests from abroad) from 10 African countries, two-thirds of whom are to be non-Europeans. The decision to call a second All-Africa Lutheran Conference is hardly less "daring and risky" than was the calling of the first one five years ago (Frijov Birkeli in LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 57). The times have changed since then, but the situation of the church in Africa has become, if anything, more problematic and the urgency of the task even more pronounced.

It is the issues facing the Christian church in Africa today which determined the Department's planning and which will certainly determine the character of the conference itself. And because at no time and in no place is the church divorced from the society in which it finds itself, the issues which the church faces are those arising out of a revolutionary Africa, an Africa in political convulsion and social upheaval. The decision, therefore, to provide a "theme" for the conference—something that Marangu did not have—resulted less from reliance on a tried and true ecumenical technique, whose purpose is to give artificial cohesion to an otherwise diffuse conglomeration of divergent concerns, than it did from conviction that there is one central thing to which the churches of Africa can and must direct not only their attention, but the attention of all Africans, indeed, of all men everywhere. "Jesus Christ: The Way,

the Truth and the Life" thus not only points to the central message of the Christian faith but also eloquently testifies to the one and only answer to all human striving and aspiration. This theme gains added pertinence in view of the bewildering variety of competing claims for loyalty to which the African is being subjected as a result of Africa's confrontation with both the West and the East and as a result of its emerging awareness of itself and its own heritage.

One of the points raised about Marangu was that it was not representative of the whole of Africa and therefore could not with much justification claim to be an "All-Africa" conference (see Bishop Stephen Neill in LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 66). This observation is valid also for the Antsirabé conference. Although there will be representatives from our churches and missions in South Africa, Southwest Africa, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kamerun, Nigeria and Liberia, as well as a large delegation, of course, from Madagascar, vast sections of Africa (North Africa, most of "Latin Africa" in particular) where there is no Lutheran work will obviously go unrepresented. This is not by intent, however. The Christian Councils of all the African countries have been invited to send observers, although most of them will not make use of the invitation. And we have included persons from other countries of Africa (Ghana, Kenya and N. Rhodesia) in prominent places on the program. Still, the fact remains that the *whole* of Africa will not be represented in Antsirabé.

Nevertheless, "All-Africa" is more than wishful illusion. For despite all the diversity of a continent larger in area than the United States, India and China combined, there is an ever-increasing continent-wide unity of thought and action. The very calling of an All-Africa Lutheran Conference is itself a reflection of this. And each church, no matter where it is situated, is being faced increasingly with questions that are but local manifestations of problems which are "All-Africa" in scope.

The language problem is especially acute. To facilitate as fully as possible participation of all the delegates, it has been decided to use four languages at Antsirabé: English, French, Malagasy and Afrikaans. Simultaneous interpretation equipment will be brought to Madagascar for just this purpose. The plenary sessions will then be handled as at

the LWF Assemblies at Hannover and Minneapolis. But the meetings of discussion groups and sections will still pose a knotty problem of interpretation.

The organization of the conference will take place at the first morning session. We expect the conference to elect three or four Africans to preside at all sessions of the plenary and to select a Steering Committee, composed chiefly of Africans, to guide the work of the conference. Africans have been given prominent assignments in all the aspects of the conference's work, for it is the hope of the Department and Commission that Antsirabé will stimulate further the rise of African leadership in the church in Africa.

The Bible studies each morning, which have been chosen from the Gospel and Epistles of John and the Book of Revelation, will deal with various aspects of the theme: "Jesus Christ: The Way, the Truth and the Life." Only Africans have been assigned to this task. We hope that, in this way, the problems and questions of the African will receive clarification from the word of God. The services in the evenings will also be planned and conducted entirely by Africans. This may result in underlining the non-liturgical or a-liturgical character of the Lutheran Church in Africa, but if so, it will be a clear expression of the contemporary scene and a reflection of the minor rôle that liturgical thought has played in the missionary evangelism of Africa.

Preparatory papers have been sent out to all the delegates and observers. These are not study documents in the usual sense of the word, but they represent individual viewpoints and raise questions that we hope will stimulate the thinking of the participants as well as provoke discussion.

Under the first sub-theme: "The World We Serve," addresses will be presented on the situation of the church in an Africa undergoing revolutionary change, the problem of the church's task as it faces the social problems involved in urbanization, and the problem of the evangelization of youth in a situation of social and cultural disintegration. This is the world of present-day Africa, the world into which the gospel is sent, the world in which the church must serve. The lectures on this sub-theme will set the tone of the conference and give it its direction.

The second sub-theme, "The Faith of Our Fathers," will be dealt with in four individual paired lectures: "A Universal Faith...", "...For a Specific Time and Place," "A

Universal Fellowship," "A Confessional Church." This choice of subject was dictated not only by the general situation in which the Lutheran Church as a whole finds itself, but also by the specific situation in which the Lutheran Church in Africa is placed. What does it mean for the Lutheran Church to confess the universality of faith? What does subscription to the Lutheran Confessions of the 16th century mean to African Christians today? What about a "Confessio Africana"? (cf. "The Marangu Documents," LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 385 ff.) How can the Lutheran Church give expression to its ecumenical character? Where do the limits of ecumenical fellowship lie? What does the specifically African environment demand of the Lutheran Church in this respect? These are questions which Antsirabé as such cannot hope to answer in any definitive way. This can only be done by the churches in their day-to-day witness. But is it an illusion to hope that Antsirabé could possibly be a help to them in this?

The last sub-theme, "The Missionary Church," places the spotlight on the immediate problems besetting a church established through a foreign missionary enterprise. There can be no doubt that there are great hindrances to the church in Africa that are of her own making. Must the church administer her discipline differently in the light of a changing situation? Must the church review her attitudes toward polygamy? Must the church insist on keeping education in her own hands, and if not, how can the church meet her educational responsibility? How can the church gradually become financially responsible? How must the church herself change in order to carry out her evangelistic task? These and scores of related questions must be answered by a church that hopes to be a truly missionary church.

The conference will be divided into three sections to discuss one of the sub-themes. Any reports or resolutions will be brought before the plenary for full discussion and action. But this is not the only way the conference will work. Ten discussion groups will also meet to take up specific questions: Literacy and Literature Work, Medical and Welfare Work, Youth Work, The Use and Study of the Bible, Stewardship and the Lay Christian, Christian Citizenship (The Christian in Politics), The Church in Economic Life, Theological Education, Mission-Church Relationships.

It is quite possible that definite proposals and definite calls for action will issue from the sections and from these discussion groups. We need only remind ourselves of the situation in South Africa, for example, to realize that Antsirabé can turn out to be either over-cautious and innocuously timid, or outspokenly bold and politically irresponsible. Will a statement be issued on race relations in Africa? on apartheid? Or will the conference ignore the whole matter for fear of embarrassing consequences? It is difficult for a church conference to speak with both relevance and spiritual concern, but this is undoubtedly what is needed, particularly by the churches in Southern Africa.

One great difficulty is posed by the decision of the government of the Malagasy Republic to hold elections on the second Sunday in September, the fourth day of the conference. The Malagasy delegates who do not live in or near Antsirabé will have to leave the day before so as to be able to vote, returning only the day after. Because this is the first election to be held since Madagascar became independent (June of this year), interest and tension is running high. Extreme care will have to be exercised in dealing with political questions. And it will probably be a sobering experience to realize that the conference, and indeed the church as such, is out of public focus.

There will certainly be little opportunity and even less inclination, however, to become introspective and to begin reflecting upon the "ecclesiological significance" of the conference itself and the work of the Lutheran World Federation in Africa. It is the immediate issues confronting the church and its work which will get, and which deserve to get full attention. Yet sooner or later some thought must be given to the direction cooperative work among Lutherans in Africa is taking. The Marangu Seminar and the Radio Project are institutions created by the LWF, and the recurring All-Africa Lutheran Conferences is another such institution. Perhaps it is too early to raise the question as to just what will emerge as the next step in the expression of continent-wide Lutheran unity in Africa. Perhaps, indeed, there is no such further step that can or should be taken. In any case, it is the situation in Africa which will be decisive. And who can say what the situation in Africa will be even a year from now?

For Africa, the year 1960 has been so far a year of hope and accomplishment, but also one of violence and frustration. The rhetorical

question raised at the first All-Africa Lutheran Conference "Quo vadis, Africa?" will, of course, be as unanswerable and yet just as valid at Antsirabé as it was at Marangu. The church cannot—nor can Antsirabé—determine the path Africa will take, but it can, as indeed it must, point to Jesus Christ, the way, the truth, the life. If Antsirabé 1960 should succeed, if but in part, in rekindling the true sense of the church's mission and in strengthening the true purpose of its life it will have succeeded in being something more than just another meeting or simply the second of a series of "All-Africa Lutheran Conferences."

PAUL E. HOFFMAN

World Service

Helping to Form and Strengthen the Ecclesia

Thoughts on Another Year of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees by and among Lutheran Churches

"CHURCH-CENTRIC" is a popular theological notion nowadays. And no wonder. The exigencies of contemporary life have brought most of us Christians to the rediscovery of the organized communion. A person may be ever so individualistic in his Christian life, but when anti-spiritual forces openly work for the destruction of God's word and Christ's followers even the individualist begins to see what ecclesia means. We only have to remind ourselves of the experiences in totalitarian countries. Among Christian and idealistic bodies with a built-in international bent, the organized church is the only one that prevails, serving as a haven and a source of love and power. The "community of saints" is not an empty phrase. God works through the organized ecclesia despite the shortcomings of its members. There is a tremendous lesson to be learned by all from the fact that the church, as visible, concrete communion, has been preserved—albeit not unscathed—in the midst of great spiritual and physical destruction.

Some rightly warn against too much emphasis on the organized ecclesia, against

church institutionalism. They fear we might forget another essential New Testament concept: the kingdom. We should be aware of the significance of this criticism. The development of the church through the centuries can be described as a conversation and tension between the organization's "status" in history and the "dynamics" of the kingdom of God. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," words uttered by Jesus when he wished to describe the workings of the Spirit, should serve us as a corrective when we deal with and promote the church as an institution, as an ecclesia on the local level or in a larger frame. Yet, we do have to deal with the empirical manifestations of the ecclesia as necessary vehicles, and the various LWF programs, like any inter-church undertakings, would indeed be unthinkable without a concentration on the potentialities of the "*congregatio*"—in the faith that the spirit of the kingdom, which is dynamic, will and does work through the church, one side of which must be static, historically conditioned and, therefore, limited form.

The program of mutual assistance carried out by Lutheran churches through World Service derives its deeper significance from the truth and the needs of the ecclesia. Without such a theological anchor we would be at the mercy of all the gusts of appeal and desire to do good and perhaps rather aimlessly drift around among the shoals and skerries in humanitarian waters.

Of the two main tasks facing World Service the first one is in no way different from the task which other departments and commissions within the LWF have set for themselves. It is to strengthen the witnessing community.

The second goal can perhaps be described as a responsibility specifically entrusted to World Service: to provide the witnessing community with an opportunity to aid homeless non-Christian people materially and socially.

I. Strengthening the Witnessing Community

Congregational Extension among Refugees and Migrants

One of the concomitants of the refugee migration after World War II has been an intensified congregational extension work in countries of asylum. It is important to note that LWF/WS is involved in the establishment of new pastoral facilities, not as a church, but

as an aid-channelling instrument of the churches.

Refugees in *Austria* and *Germany* have been a challenge and an asset to the Austrian and German churches. The Lutheran Church in Austria has asked for and received from sister churches funds to meet the added tasks. Of special importance is the money given for the erection of buildings often necessitated precisely by the influx of refugees. With part of the money a revolving loan fund has been established for building purposes. The steady stream of refugees from East Germany into Berlin and West Germany kept up in 1959 (200 a day, a total of 3,000,000 after the war). This has placed new extension and contact duties on the West German churches. The same churches last year assumed added financial responsibility for the 25,000 non-German Lutherans in West Germany by agreeing to cover travel costs for exile pastors. They had earlier taken over salary costs. More and more settlers in Austria and Germany are integrated with Austrian and German congregations and use the German language.

Among the 30,000 Lutherans in *Great Britain*, there is a steadily growing interest in Lutheran extension work in English. English-speaking congregations under the auspices of the Lutheran Council of Great Britain now exist in London, Hothorpe and Corby, the latter being a 1959 addition.

In 1957 the Lutheran Church in *Italy* integrated with its administration three Italian-speaking congregations in the Naples area at their request. These centers for Italian extension work with their two Italian pastors constitute a new departure. In 1959, the World Service Department helped to solicit and coordinate assistance toward the study expenses of two Italian pastors in training.

Post-war refugee migrants from Europe to countries overseas number 1.5 million, all told. To this should be added an annual figure of about 50,000 "normal migrants" from Northern Europe alone.¹ Many of these migrants came and come from areas with Lutheran church traditions. The extension work of the Lutheran churches in the *USA*, *Canada*, *Australia* and the *Union of South Africa* has taken special account of this fact. In 1959 the Department of World

¹ Oddly and interestingly enough, the same countries attract labor from Southern Europe to about the same extent each year.

Service continued to partially support the extension work of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (49,099 members in 1958, 51,317 in 1959). Aid is also given through the Board of Trustees for Lutheran Extension Work among the 30,000 Lutherans of German and Nordic origin in the Union of South Africa. Although the original tongues are naturally cherished and preserved among the newcomers in all these lands, the language of the country of adoption slowly becomes a necessity also to the church, as a new generation grows up. In South Africa, two new English and Afrikaans-speaking groups were added to the charge of the Board of Trustees for Lutheran extension work in Southern Africa in 1959: the English and Afrikaans-speaking Strand Street Church in Cape Town, oldest Lutheran church in the Union, and a congregation of 90 English-speaking members in Eshowe. The existence of five English and Afrikaans-speaking congregations may sooner or later necessitate the formation of a separate Lutheran synod for English and Afrikaans-speaking work in South Africa.

By assisting one another in the task of witnessing to the migrant and to those who are losing touch with the original language of their family, the Lutheran churches are performing a duty which is strategic, in the best sense of the word. A part of this strategy was the "workshop" on *pastoral referral service* arranged by the department in 1959 for a small group of European church leaders conversant with migration policies and programs. The workshop proposed methods by which the so-called normal migrants might be reached by the sending church with a view to "referring" their names and future addresses to a receiving church.

Revitalized Congregational Life

The strength of the Christian witness among the unchurched, and the attractiveness of the invitation to join the ecclesia is dependent on the spirit of dedication inside the congregation. That for which we have sacrificed little means little to us and also has few means for growth and survival. This is where stewardship comes in. Out of the experiences of inter-church aid has come a constantly growing realization of the need for training in stewardship.

1959 was the second year for the stewardship and evangelism secretariat of the World

Service Department. The secretary was invited to Germany, the Nordic countries, France, Austria, Holland and England in order to give counsel and provide information. Through participation in conferences in Berlin, he has maintained close contact with the stewardship leaders of the East Zone churches. He attended and lectured at an evangelism conference in Yugoslavia and arranged a stewardship conference in Germany with wide European participation. Close contact was maintained with the department for work among the laity of the World Council of Churches. Through the work of the secretary a particular interest was awakened among laymen in several churches. During these first few years of active stewardship training in a number of European churches, the conviction has grown that a summing-up of theological implications and motivations is now in order. A small theological conference on stewardship is, therefore, being prepared by the Geneva stewardship secretariat.

The Department of World Service notes with gratitude that two member churches in 1959 decided to establish stewardship offices with full-time appointees and that the origin of these decisions is to be sought largely in the services and incentives provided by LWF/WS personnel.

The stewardship aspect of our work cannot be disassociated from interchurch aid. The stewardship and home visitation work now carried out by many state and folk churches and some minority churches will prepare them for the possible moment when a state church will cease to be a state church and a minority church can no more reckon with outside support.

Strengthening and Strengthened by Congregations Restricted in their Witness

The greatest obstacle to the work of the churches in totalitarian countries is not separation between church and state as such. The difficulty rather lies in the fact that the church does not have the full freedom of competition in the field of opinion and faith. The church is faced with a state-promoted body of opinion and faith which it has little opportunity to gainsay. Meanwhile the thinking of young people is being shaped by a rationalistic scientism against which the church either is not equipped to speak or has no chance to fight. The vertical relation between God and man is maintained through the divine service

often with an earnestness and joy which can be a sermon to fellow-Christians in free countries. But the horizontal witness is curtailed with resultant tendencies toward ghettoism.

The ministry of aid to the minority churches, especially those behind the iron curtain, contains by the very nature of the situation, relatively little which could be termed self-help or promotion of extension work. Yet it must continue, for it is an expression of shared destiny in Christ.

Messengers and Enquirers

The Church Workers' Exchange Program of the Department of World Service added thirty-nine exchanges to its list in 1959. All told, almost one hundred persons have so far participated. Perhaps some would think the number should have been higher after four years. But it is a program which requires time-absorbing solicitation of study opportunities and entails considerable work with schedules. The exchange program should become better known by church leaders, however, and financial contributions from more churches would broaden its basis.

The program strengthens ties between churches. The visitor of three or four months comes as a messenger from his own church and country and as an enquirer who broadens his knowledge in a particular field of practical church work.

II. Providing the Witnessing Community with the Opportunity of Aiding Non-Christians

We have seen how, during the past year, the member churches of the LWF endeavored to strengthen one another as witnessing communities and to strengthen the outreach of the ecclesia among post-Christian men and women, through the Department of World Service.

But through the department the churches also have an opportunity to assist non-Christians at the burning points of want in Asia, among largely non-Christian needy. This is according to a New Testament tradition which has Old Testament beginnings. In Deuteronomy 15, for instance, we can find an exhortation applicable to the needy among today's non-Christians, as it was also applicable to the non-Hebrew foreigners of those days: "Thy poor brother... thou shalt surely

give him and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest.... Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy... And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt and the Lord thy God redeemed thee."

It is essential for the church to work constructively and practically among the have-nots of this world, not least in the Asian and African scenes. It is likewise essential that this should not be regarded as something we can take or leave. This work must, to the greatest possible extent, be related to the life of the church in the area where it is being carried out. The fact that most of it cannot be carried out directly through the administrative channels and by the members of those local churches in the areas of need sometimes forms the background to criticism against the international operation under LWF/WS leadership. This is understandable. It seems to me that a healthy tension between the fundamental desirability and the existential necessity is something we ought to learn to live with. Through the existence of an internationally sponsored aid organ on their territory, the local churches in the area of need are being constantly reminded that the homeless also belong to a Christian's calling. Through the life and work of the local churches the international body is reminded of its duty to acquaint the church of the country with the needs and the program, to relate itself more and more decisively to the local church and to engage the latter increasingly in practical responsibilities.

Toward Rehabilitation

There is a marked line of development in the service to refugees which may be best described as the road from relief to rehabilitation. Our work among the Arab refugees, the Hong Kong Chinese, and the people of India is giving expanded scope to efforts along the line of rehabilitation.

No doubt we should continue to offer that cup of cold water, in other words, donate supplies which give temporary relief but no livelihood. However, as the economic possibilities of the host society grow, we should not be tardy to relate our aid to permanent solutions for individuals and groups.

The aid programs in Jordan, Syria and Hong Kong now contain projects in the field of vocational training and loans for the establishment of small businesses and artisan

activities—projects which would hardly have been feasible some years ago.

World Refugee Year lent special emphasis to this trend. The projects chosen for this effort are all directly aimed at permanent solutions for homeless folk.

Our Role in Rapid Social Change

Within the WCC a follow-up of the World Refugee Year is already being considered through the instrumentality of the FAO-inspired campaign drawing attention to areas of acute human need. The name chosen for the undertaking is, perhaps for want of a better one, the "World Hunger Campaign."

Not that Lutheran churches should, at all costs establish separate World Hunger campaign projects. A great deal of pooling is required if the churches are going to make an impact in this realm. But the LWF has access to giving potentials which cannot be otherwise effectively reached. The LWF also bears special responsibility that these committees and agencies come to be aware of the serious issues involved in the question. The basic fact to be illustrated is of course that whereas Asia and Africa generally show an increase of food production per capita, the increase is even greater in the West. The gulf is widening.

Those of us who are directly involved in providing Christ's witnessing community with the opportunity of aiding non-Christians—mainly refugees in Asia and Africa—have become increasingly aware that we are touching a want which is only a minor part of a much larger want. There is in Asia and Africa an endemic need which requires radical changes in social structure and agricultural and industrial technique. Needless to say, that would be too big a bill for the church alone to fill. But should not the church be involved, perhaps to show the way, perhaps to pay a debt? Constructive social-Christian projects will be the implementation of the concern expressed through the World Hunger Campaign.

At this juncture we have reason to return to the issue contained in the discussion subject "inter-church aid and mission." As the mission in its fundamental preaching task encounters the increasing needs for constructive anti-hunger projects, it can do three things: refer the Christian interest to secular national or inter-governmental arrangements for improvement; try to solicit as much as

possible from its constituents over and above normal budgets; in and through cooperation and coordination of national missionary and relief boards seek to reach a wider group of potential givers. All three ways should be tried but none of them to the exclusion of the others. The first one holds the temptation of quietism. The second one contains the danger that the mission board may come to look upon itself as holding a monopoly on Asia and Africa. The third one, if resulting in more funds, may make the young churches unduly dependent on foreign support. It is, however, the way least tried and contains one element which will, it is hoped, soon be viewed as indispensable: regular inter-change and coordination of plans between mission boards and relief boards on a national level for church-sponsored social-Christian work in Asia and Africa.

BENGT HOFFMAN

Youth and Students

WSCF Teaching Conference in Strasbourg

IT WAS APPROPRIATE that the conference herewith reported was held in a city of "covered bridges and the old towers of the fortifications" (in which words a Chamber of Commerce brochure described sights worth seeing in Strasbourg, France). It was perhaps appropriate also that it rained nearly every day, it was quite cold, and that delegates spent a daily average of more than two hours in walking to and from the scattered buildings in which they worshipped, heard lectures, ate meals, and slept.

An ecumenical conference, if it is one's first and if it is international as well as interdenominational, can be, as this was for most of the participants, an arduous experience. And inasmuch as these were university students it is a safe guess that they came in the expectation of reckoning with medieval fortifications set among old bridges that are more quaint than either useful or esthetically pleasing.

One should mention also among the symbolic accoutrements the dominating presence of IBM headphones and four interpreter's booths (English, Spanish, French, German).

The occasion was the World Teaching Conference which had been set in the center of a six-year "Life and Mission of the Church" study program by the World Student Christian Federation. The dates were July 15-31. Participants were presumably top ranking students who had been engaged with fellow students in their own countries in a continuing study the past two years of "questions (which have) arisen in the life of the Church which often prevent students from understanding or taking an active part in the Church's mission." Having arrived at last in Strasbourg they were now ready to devote two weeks to concentrated study of the theme, "Christ's Ministry to the World and Our Calling Today."

Even the beginning was rather symbolically significant. Orientation sessions and sight-seeing tours were all but a farce because of the amazing complexities of meeting, registering, and housing in five widely scattered buildings the more than six hundred delegates and leaders who arrived at all hours of the night and day from quite as many parts of the world. Each national movement affiliated with the Federation had had its own procedure for selecting and certifying its delegates, hence a uniform pattern of registration was sadly missing. To add annoyance to the complexity there had been several unexpected developments within the University of Strasbourg which necessitated sudden changes in local arrangements. But by the morning of the first Sunday, after two whole days and more of arriving and getting oriented, the delegates could be marshalled on the Place de l'Université, ready to march to church under simply, not to say crudely, painted signs identifying all national delegations. Inevitably there had to be one nation that had been overlooked and an usher had to make a dash to the Conference office to splash on a card the letters of that nation so that its lone delegate could as proudly as the others be identified. And so they marched to church; the conference was underway.

Now began the search for new understanding, the variously intense urgencies to understand church and churches; mission and missions; the old and the new; modern revolutions—political, intellectual, theological; the

relevance of the gospel for our day. Speakers started out in quite ordinary fashion, trying hard to lay solid foundations; tutors tried equally hard in their small "Tutorial Groups" (10-18 persons) to effect clarity and understanding. But there was impatience. Our problems today are new! The language and thought patterns of the church are old and outmoded! The institutions of the past are no longer adequate if indeed they ever were! The intellectual and scientific and political revolutions have changed everything! What you leaders say is undoubtedly true and good but it is irrelevant! Come down from the platform to where we are and let us talk with you man to man about our real concerns!

Such earlier feelings, resulting in sharply critical statements in the daily bulletin and a "gripe session," very probably issued in part from the initial resistance to the strangeness of international and ecumenical encounter, but perhaps it was also the unconscious resentment in a generation which had been promised before its birth a goodly heritage of universal love and brotherhood but instead found itself, so to say, sitting amidst the ashes of burned out hopes. Perhaps speakers also unwittingly communicated disillusionment. Orientation events had included a most competent performance by British students of Sartre's play, *No Exit*, and it verily appeared that this might turn out to be the most accurate representation of the prevailing mood.

Conferences have a way of settling down, and so did this one. Going into the second week it became more clear that there was order both in the scheme and in the content of the lectures. Progressively they came closer to the issues of the day, and when Hans Hoekendijk from The Netherlands had concluded his address on "Christ and the World in the Modern Age" ("The coming of Christ in the flesh is a secular event—the coming of Christ in *this* modern world will also be a secular event or it will not happen at all!") there were certainly those who felt that the conference was now speaking plainly and relevantly. Some indeed thought this earlier in the conference when the elfin and brilliant Françoise Florentin, National Secretary for the French SCM in Schools, spoke on "The Intellectual Revolution" but her lecture went over the heads of most non-Europeans.

The "Scientific Revolution" was clearly in the minds of participants but unfortunately the

speaker on that subject was prevented by illness from attending. It was not ignored, however, thanks to Bishop Hans Lilje (a former WSCF Secretary) who had come as a guest and despite his advance request for no assignments undertook, on very short notice, to speak on the subject.

Obviously a key word was "revolution" (and "relevant"). Most delegates came with the certainty that revolutions have taken place which quite completely change the situation for the church. There was a determined desire to look critically at the posture of the church (and the churches!) vis-à-vis social and technological changes, rising nationalisms, racial and political injustices, the breakdown of meaningful communication, "the end of the foreign mission era."

Was it a *teaching* conference? One thoughtful and somewhat older participant carefully wrote out for this reporter what he saw emerging as discernible results, among which he listed and elaborated the following: A. Reinterpretation of *Apostolic* i.e. it means a missionary people. B. Reinterpretation of *Catholic* i.e. supranational. C. Reinterpretation of *Unity*, which insight he gained from Mikko Juva's lecture on "Christ and the Christian Life in the Reformation." This participant was brought to the realization that "the Reformation solutions put the ecumenical question right into the middle of the 20th Century."

Another participant, equally thoughtful but considerably younger, outlined for me "the condition" in which he and presumably many others came to the conference. They came, he said, as members of an age that has learned it can build a world order based upon the intellectual elimination of God; as members of a church that is progressively retreating into an institution in which they can not have a part if they are also genuinely to live in the world; as victims of a swirling mass of pressures, warring ideologies, and psychological preoccupations. To this person the conference brought the impact of *A People*, and by his elaboration of the point it became evident that he was coming into a new appreciation of what his spiritual forbears would call *the redeemed*, the *Una Sancta*. This *People* comes to mean for him the one "reality" by which to escape the meaninglessness in which he would otherwise have to live.

To be this "reality" we have simply to be believers in Christ; and as such a fellowship of believers to look upon ourselves as a very

human institution of forgiven sinners with a vision toward the *Una Sancta*; to be full of gratitude that we have been convicted and gospelled by the Holy Spirit; to participate fully in the world, making certain that any refusal to participate be based on love for fellowmen rather than matching them against preconceived legalistic rules; not to refuse to discuss with and love other Christians with whom we disagree but to look upon them as brothers in a struggle of love over against, but still within, the outside world; not to think our social and political and liturgical convictions are more than relative, yet to hold them proudly and to discuss them anxiously though not dogmatically as if to legislate for the rest of mankind.

Older participants, of which there was a rather large number as leaders, speakers, national staff members, and guests, were naturally more alert to various theological colors and hues. Did the conference have an official "party line"? Some suspected it did. Was it too Calvinistic? Too conservative? One American voiced, privately, the wish that there could have been at least one liberal voice in the conference. Some thought Dr. Visser 't Hooft went too far afield in his rejection of the "Two Kingdoms." Still others felt he gave the best theological content to the basic lectures. And so on and on.

But these concerns seemed not to touch the student participants and they might even have been disposed to dismiss such issues as essentially irrelevant and relatively inconsequential. Which is not to suggest that there was general indifference to theology. It was rather that a kind of basic ecumenicity was assumed to exist and that it is of sufficient substance so that we should hurry on to find the language and means of speaking more meaningfully to the world.

As said, it rained nearly every day and it was cold in Strasbourg. But occasionally the sun would burst forth shining. It would be too much to say that this observation figuratively applies to all of the conference: there were not many moments of clear sunshine; rather, the prevailing mood was somber. Conference delegates looked for new bridges and while looking made it clear that they were dissatisfied with the old ones and also with the fortifications that are traditionally associated with the church.

If there were occasions when the sun shone they were probably the times when there crept into the inner spirit of an occasional partici-

pant the immensity of such an experience of brotherliness—but tempered by the realization that back home there were still the painful problems that put urgency into their anticipations of going to Strasbourg.

No one would presume actually to evaluate the entire conference at this time. Experienced WSCF and SCM people are certain that the total impact can not be estimated if at all until some years have gone by. This report is prepared even before the event has come to an end and must resort to a guess that such statements as "it rained nearly every day" will remain true. Beyond that one should not go.

A. HENRY HETLAND

First European Ecumenical Youth Assembly, Lausanne, Switzerland, July 13-24, 1960

"JESUS CHRIST, THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD." This was the theme and the testimony of approximately 1,700 young Christians between the ages of 18 and 30 who met together for 12 days in July. These young people and their leaders constituted the first European Ecumenical Youth Assembly, sponsored by the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches in cooperation with national ecumenical youth councils in Europe.

The unity and the diversity of the peoples in Europe who confess Christ to be the light of the world were manifested in this assembly. From Iceland to Greece and from Finland to Portugal the various churches in Europe were represented by proportionately large delegations. It was a sober disappointment when, at the last minute, the government of the DDR denied the entire delegation from that area permission to come. However, the churches of Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary were represented. And, to the great appreciation of the assembly, the Moscow Patriarchate and the Baptist Church in Russia were represented by young, officially delegated observers.

It is important to draw out this picture of the range of church life and thought gathered in this meeting. The various Eastern Orthodox churches were represented by unusually large delegations; thirty young people came from the Church of Greece. And among the

Protestant delegates were people from several churches not presently belonging to the WCC. Notable among these were certain Reformed churches in Holland and certain Lutheran churches in the USA, e.g., the Suomi Synod and the Missouri Synod. The two Russian churches previously mentioned belong in this category, of course, and there was also an observer from the Armenian Catholicate.

Furthermore, several Roman Catholic youths were present as observers and took part in the study groups of the assembly. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg forwarded an encouraging message to the Assembly, which said in part: "If the Catholic Church does not belong to the World Council of Churches it nevertheless teaches that all humble and sincere efforts aiming at the reconciliation of all Christians are the work of the Holy Spirit." The Bishop further invited the Catholic population of Lausanne to attend a mass celebrated on July 13 to invoke God's blessing on the work of the Assembly.

There is still another dimension to be added to this picture of the breadth of the Assembly. As a matter of principle, those who first planned this meeting insisted that the European churches must not consider alone the calling of the church in the world today. So there were present in Lausanne about 100 young representatives of the churches in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and another 180 from the churches of Canada and the USA. It was taken by many as a sign of the ecumenical situation that this European Ecumenical Youth Assembly was more broadly representative of the universal church than was the World Christian Youth Conference held in Europe less than fifteen years ago.

But all this could be so much description; the fullness of the church is not a matter of statistics but a matter of faith, life and witness. As the Roman Catholic Bishop remarked in his message, the fact that the Assembly chose as its theme "Jesus Christ the Light of the World" indicated that the participants were "centering their studies not on secondary questions, but on the central mystery of Christianity." The Lausanne Assembly was never content with mere internationalism, rather, it saw itself as part of the continuous process through which the whole church tries to find the way of obedience in the modern world.

This was not a student conference in the traditional sense; a determined effort was made to recruit young people who live and work in the local parishes. There was, however, one booklet of preparatory studies which had been used in some ten different languages during the past year. And the heart of the Assembly was to be found in the small study groups which met three times on each of the three themes of the assembly.

The first theme was "The task of the European churches in the world situation today." The Assembly heard Dr. Nick Nissiotis and Mr. M. M. Thomas speak on this theme. Already in the keynote address of the assembly the delegates had heard Dr. Visser 't Hooft pronounce that "God has not said his last word in and about Europe." M. M. Thomas made this specific in calling upon the delegates not to indulge in nostalgia for the Continent's past glories and powers, but to find a new vocation in service to the world. "Europe has a historic function to fulfill in world affairs, a vocation which will be humbler in terms of power, but nevertheless a vocation which may not be less significant in terms of service to humanity." The response of the Assembly to this challenge included the following affirmations:

... Europeans must recognize that the age of colonialism is over and must proceed more resolutely on their way from domination over the world to service to the world. What we can do is little, but important. We can gradually transform public opinion in our parishes and churches and perhaps in our countries by making appeals and protest, by cooperating in the political bodies, by using our votes responsibly and above all by personal example.

... the countries of "rapid social change" cannot be helped by charity alone, but only by the dedicated action of people who will give their energy and years of their lives.... We can make a fruitful contribution of aid to these countries by work camps and periods of voluntary service. We can insist that our churches and our governments undertake large scale campaigns and give financial support in a spirit of economic justice and brotherly concern.

The seriousness with which the young people present said these and other things is testified to by the action of two large national delegations. The 130 members of the delega-

tion from the Swiss churches formally engaged themselves to contribute 5% of their salary for the month of August to an organization which aids regions outside Europe. The Swedish delegation similarly volunteered to forego one meal and to give the cost thereof for the same purpose. These actions were perhaps typical of the mood of the Assembly, if not of this generation: no great demonstrations and no eloquent declarations but a genuine readiness for concrete actions based on convictions quietly held.

II

The second theme of the Assembly was called "The task of the churches in a changing European situation." The delegates first listened to Mr. Tom Driberg, a Socialist member of Parliament in Great Britain, Dr. Roger Mehl, a professor in Strasbourg University, and Dr. W. Gastpray, professor of Theology in Warsaw. No unanimous line was taken on any of the so-called European problems but the following affirmations were endorsed in the final session:

We have agreed that, whatever our attitude to the problem of coexistence, it is our task as Christians to resist with all our might, in both East and West, the uncritical way of thinking in terms of friend and foe, the attitude which regards the other side as being of the devil, and the search for a scapegoat.

... that the service of reconciliation directly rested in the work of Jesus Christ has nonetheless a clear political aspect.

... that Christ sets us free to adventure in the search for peace. Here in Lausanne, in the conversations between Christians of East and West, we have made such a venture. Many of us are convinced that such a breaking through of the iron curtains between groups, peoples and ideologies in ventures for peace is Christian, even at the risk of arousing suspicion and experiencing isolation.

This may not go so far as certain ecumenical studies on the Lordship of Christ over the whole of life, but on the other hand the Assembly clearly repudiated the idea that Christians or church bodies should or could remain passive before socio-political matters. It has been said that this is a non-political generation. On the basis of the Lausanne Assembly, I should rather say that Christian

young people in Europe simply reflect the malaise characterizing political thought and action in most Western countries. In short, we have much goodwill, many constructive intentions but are simply overcome by the enormity and complexity of the problems of our time. There is a simultaneous acceptance of the Christian gospel and of the responsibility to be obedient in today's world, but few are the people who see the connections between the two. And how much help in doing so are young people given by their churches?

III

All the work of the Assembly on the two previous subjects was carried over into the third and final study theme "The renewal, mission and unity of the local church." Two short, plain-spoken speeches opened the study of this theme, one by Pfarrer Ernst Lange of Berlin and one by Prof. Dr. J. C. Hockendijk of Holland. Lange said quite simply that "the whole ecumenical hubbub" receives its test and its fulfillment in "the everyday world and the local church." After making several sharp points on mission and renewal in concrete terms, Hockendijk said: "For God's sake be impatient and begin to do the 'impossible' thing... There will be no *movement* in the ecumenical movement unless we are ready to step out of our traditions. And there will be no *unity* until we are ready to die as Reformed, as Lutheran or as Orthodox, in the expectant hope of a resurrection in the presence of Christ and his one church."

But the Assembly had not waited for the schedule of the conference to come to the third theme; it arrived there the one or two preceding days. In fact, after a rather routine dealing with the first and second themes, the conference broke wide open on the question of unity under the classic terms of the inter-communion problem. What then happened and what was finally said by the Assembly out of this experience are so important for all of us who pray for the renewal of the church in her mission and her unity that I will take some lines to reconstruct the events as I saw them.

The Preparatory Committee had never been able to see a way through the obstacles before a truly full celebration of the Holy Communion in the Assembly, just as and because the

churches in the WCC have not been able to do so. Consequently no service of Holy Communion was scheduled in the program of the Assembly, but rather the many Swiss parishes which received the delegates for a weekend were asked to celebrate Holy Communion with an open invitation to all delegates to participate. This was done in a majority of the parishes visited.

Nonetheless a good many delegates had already reached the conclusion of Pfarrer Lange "that something decisive (was) missing from the heart of this conference—Holy Communion." They were more than ready for the challenge of Hockendijk: "I have the deep conviction that the Lord's table is the place where we have to do the 'impossible' now. And why not? It is the very place where all of us are invited." Clearly this same conviction was felt strongly in several delegations and was being conscientiously examined in several others.

This conviction expressed itself after some days in the form of an invitation to participate in a united service from 14 ministers in the Assembly. This invitation was signed by Lutheran pastors from Germany, France, Austria and Denmark among others.

As the service was not regarded as part of the official program of the assembly, it was not possible for it to be held in the conference buildings. A parish church was obtained some distance away and the service scheduled for the middle of the afternoon in a very busy day of the Assembly. Over 1,000 delegates were present with perhaps 900 actually communicating.

This event speaks for itself and had its own fullness. But the extent of its implications for the delegates and for the churches in the ecumenical movement is to be read in the words of the closing statement from the Assembly. I suggest three main lines.

This generation of church youth does not regard the ecumenical movement as a means of bypassing the local church but as a God-given way to its renewal. They have taken up the invitation of Visser 't Hooft "to fight the ecumenical battle where that battle is hardest, that is, in the ordinary life of the ordinary congregation" because "so long as we have self-centered, isolated local churches we must not expect to advance toward a church living in fellowship and rendering united witness to the world." But it is important to read the words of the delegates which indicate that there is no mere conformism here.

The ecumenical movement is not a liberation from the bonds of the local church, but a calling to more conscious participation in the life of the church.

We are agreed that we are more than ever committed to our local churches. But we belong to them now as people who know that in our local church the whole church is supposed to be there for the whole world in its need. We belong to our local churches henceforth as restless and impatient members called to critical participation.

This generation does not propose to abandon the confessional traditions in which it has heard and received the gospel, but neither does it regard these separate traditions as final—dogmatically or historically. Undoubtedly this attempt by young people to hold together what is called confessional loyalty and their obedience to the ecumenical vision places the largest possible obligation on church leaders who are in any way sensitive to the tension which it imposes on the lives of faithful Christian youth. The Assembly findings said:

In that we are deliberately returning home to our local churches, we are also deliberately returning to our own denominations. But we are all going home as Christians who are profoundly disturbed by the guilt of division. We are going home as Christians who have experienced what it means not to be able to become one at the Lord's table, and who do not want to shrug off this pain and no longer want to conceal this guilt from themselves. We are going home as Christians who know ourselves to have been made responsible by God for seeing that in our own denominations uneasiness about disunity and the passionate longing for visible unity grow constantly. We will not stop asking: What really still keeps us apart from others? Which of our objections, measured against the testimony of the Bible, are today no more than prejudice and non-theological traditions? Are we really making any effort to clear away these differences? Have we seriously examined the possibility of a dynamic union, such as that established in the Church of South India?

This is a generation which increasingly believes the ecumenical movement to be the working of God and which still believes the World Council of Churches to be a sign and an instrument of hope for the churches and the

world. Repeatedly and freely throughout the Assembly delegates directed regrets and exhortations to the WCC—with the expectation that it might be responsive. The litany of thanksgivings which heads the "findings" of the Assembly opens with this paragraph:

We are grateful to God for the witness of generations of Christians to the Oneness of the Church of Jesus Christ and particularly for the work and service of the World Council of Churches as a manifestation of this ecumenical movement.

But the mind of the Assembly was looking forward, and in concrete terms. They had no passive conception of the role of the WCC in the movement toward unity.

We shall not cease to demand of our denominations, of the neighboring denominations, and of the World Council of Churches: Work seriously towards the establishment of an increasingly inclusive intercommunion. Do not come to a standstill on this most urgent task. We hope and pray that before we come together again in an ecumenical youth conference enough progress will have been made on this point. We know that there are no easy solutions here. There is no unity at the expense of truth. But there is also no obedience to the truth which does not compel us to recover unity.

In conclusion, the fact of the matter is clear to me: our predecessors in ecumenical youth work have done their work well. We are now an increasing generation in the churches who have been taught and who believe that the given unity of the church is more real and more imperious than any thing which divides us, who have learned this truth also in our reading of the Bible, and who have experienced the same truth in life and service with our brethren of other traditions. For many the integrity of the faith and the fulness of life and service have become inseparable from the question of the renewal, mission and unity of the church in the ecumenical movement.

ROD FRENCH

N. B. — The report of the findings and main addresses of the Lausanne Assembly will be published in the Fall issue of the *Bulletin* of the Youth Department of the WCC.

Experiment — Lausanne 1960

A European Report

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL YOUTH CONFERENCE IN EUROPE will be an experiment," said the Reverend Mr. Philip Potter of Haiti, secretary of the Youth Department of the WCC, at the beginning of May this year at an ecumenical conference at the Evangelical Academy at Loccum. "It will be an experiment," he added, "because the preparatory commission has very consciously departed from the traditional forms of ecumenical conferences. The youth conferences which have been held up till now have mostly been student conferences. Lausanne will break through this academic framework and will bring together youth of all professions and educational backgrounds. Lausanne will, moreover, also be an experiment because we hardly, if at all, really know this younger generation, the first generation to be completely at home in a world of technic. It is a reserved but observant generation. However, we would like to encourage these young people to give expression to their deep-going but unexpressed questions."

Meanwhile, from July 13-24, 1960 the first Ecumenical Youth Conference took place at Lausanne on the shores of Lake Geneva. Did the experiment succeed?

Eighteen hundred delegates from twenty European countries participated in this experiment. The delegates from Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia and the observers which were sent by the Russian Orthodox Church from Moscow were especially greeted with hearty applause. No-one could understand why the eighty delegates from the Soviet zone of Germany were not granted visas to attend. Representatives from both sides of the Iron Curtain assembled at Lausanne. There were eighteen-year-olds and twenty-eight-year-olds; the High-School student sat next to the school teacher; and the tool-maker next to the architect. Lausanne was not exclusively an European assembly. The entire world was there. Among the eighteen hundred delegates there were one hundred delegates from fifteen African countries, from eight Asian countries, from Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, from the Antilles, from Panama, Argentina, Brazil and Surinam. Besides these the USA sent 160 delegates and Canada 16 representatives. It was certainly an experiment to include so many represent-

atives from other continents, folks, races and cultures in a European conference. Would this not further complicate the already involved European problem? At any rate, they clearly illustrated the fact that for Europeans there can never again be such a thing as a "closed society." Europeans can no longer be alone "among themselves"!

Wherever they come together, the whole world is present; a world which is bound to Europe with a thousand different threads of a common history. That this has not always been a good history was evident every day anew by the very presence of the delegates from the Congo: Gaston Boboka, Justin Mbiala and Edouard Sendwe.

With a view to this "Experiment Lausanne," Dr. Visser 't Hooft, the General Secretary of the WCC, told the delegates in his welcoming address: "This is your conference, a conference of the younger generation of the church." But was it really *their* conference? A conference of such scope must be prepared in advance. It was planned, and excellently so, by men and women all of whom were around forty years of age or even older. They were men and women with ecumenical experience. In his address Dr. Visser 't Hooft added: "We are here together like an orchestra. It is expected of the various instruments that they produce harmonious music. At the same time, our orchestra differs from all other orchestras in one important aspect. Namely, the music which we are to play has not yet been composed. We ourselves must write it, and we must write it together." Would they be able to write music together at this conference, these young people and their elders, and thereafter play it harmoniously together, or would there be discords?

Lausanne was furthermore an experiment in that work, in fact, hard work, was expected of the delegates. The extent of the responsibility which was laid upon the delegates is exemplified by the topics which were chosen: "Jesus Christ, the Light of the World" was the theme of Lausanne. This is the same theme which has been selected for the Third World Assembly of the WCC in New Delhi in 1961. Lausanne was to serve as preparation for New Delhi. The delegates were to think through this theme under three sub-topics:

- I The European churches in the world of today
- II The task of the churches in a changing European situation

III The renewal, mission and unity of the local church.

I cite only two questions from the realm of topic II: What is our position in regard to nationalism? Is that which was fatal for Europe an aid to the self-respect and independence of the younger nations in Asia and Africa? Or: Do doctrinal differences justify the present divisions between churches? Are they not primarily non-theological factors which divide us today and do our experiences in missions not testify to the unity which has already been given us?

One would have to be an expert theologian, sociologist or politician to answer such questions. Would the young Christians of Europe be able to do so?

They approached this experiment with great enthusiasm and this enthusiasm was sparked by personal consultation with Christians from other nations, cultures and confessions. Wherever the delegates met in the assemblies, in the study groups, at meals, during the rest periods, in their lodgings, on the way to the conference rooms, everywhere there were new faces, new perspectives, a new world to discover. One delegate declared with astonishment: "I never knew that the Church of Jesus Christ on earth was so large and inclusive."

And this colorful band of delegates, this cosmopolitan group, joined with the youth of Lausanne at an opening service of worship at the cathedral. They heard the greeting of Pastor Michel Wagner, General-Secretary of the conference: "We will be together for eleven days in order together to seek after and to receive the fulfilment of Christ's prayer: 'That they may all be one, so that the world may believe.' May the light of Christ illuminate our Assembly. Amen, so let it be done."

The delegates answered in a rousing hymn: "All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice." They sang in the four languages of the conference, English, French, German and Swedish. This hymn one had to experience, it was almost like a hurricane. One delegate said: "It sent chills up and down my spine." Together the eighteen hundred delegates heard this sermon: "You are the light of the world." Together they prayed the Lord's Prayer, not only in the four official languages, but every-one in his mother tongue. Thus many more lan-

guages were added, no-one counted them, no-one could. Only one thing was important, they prayed together.

And they agreed with the President of the conference, Canon Patey, an Anglican from Coventry: "Two great facts bind us together; we are all disciples of Jesus Christ Our Lord and we are all young. These two common characteristics have welded us into a unity which no differences of nation, language, customs, race or confession can break." Lausanne an experiment?—Yes, but why should it not succeed? During these first days there was scarcely a single delegate who doubted its success. Despite long and tiring journeys to the conference center, the delegates immediately tackled the work of the conference with ardor and astonishing thoroughness. But then, all of a sudden, the doubts began to appear. At first softly and timidly, but then ever more perceptibly, they began to find expression: "Will we be able to do it? Is the task which has been given us too difficult?" These doubts began to appear first of all in discussion groups, the small working units of the conference. The delegates were divided into 60 work groups, with 25 participants in each. After the themes were first presented in the full assembly by means of addresses, films and even pantomime, the groups, under the leadership of their group-leaders, were to work through the material and to give their answers. Here the first difficulties arose; here the original enthusiasm was somewhat dampened. Which language should we use? My report covers Group 220. In it were five Englishmen, seven Germans, two Swedes, two Danes, two Swiss, one Dutchman, one Japanese, one Finn and three North Americans. Their confessional representation was as follows: eight Lutherans, four Reformed, four from Union Churches, four Methodists, one Anglican, one Baptist, one Congregationalist and one member of the Salvation Army.

In the general assemblies technical devices helped us to master the language problem. Every delegate received a set of earphones and he could tune in to the desired translation as it came from the translation booths on the stage of the Théâtre de Beaulieu. But in our group we had to do without technical aids: "We are still suffering from this confounded Tower of Babel," said David from Montana, "our forefathers reached too high, therefore we must now begin very modestly!" And we wanted to begin modestly. We

agreed upon English in our group. Four of the participants spoke German but very inadequate English; two translators assisted them. How toilsome this translation job was! I heard of groups which had to translate into French and Spanish as well. Even more difficult than translation, however, was the job of expressing oneself correctly in a foreign language. Could we work together at all and would we be able to answer the difficult questions which faced us with these inadequate means of understanding one another? These were questions which weighed heavily on many of the delegates. Would Experiment Lausanne run aground? It was good that at this time during the conference a free week-end had been arranged. Every group was invited by a Swiss congregation more or less in the neighborhood of Lausanne. "Be good messengers of ecumenicity" called President Patey as the groups departed. How could they be, with their minds full of the difficult problems of the ecumenical movement? Yet each was, in his own manner. The warmth and the charm of the reception accorded us by the Swiss congregations did the rest. First of all, the simple strengthening of human contacts: we told one another about our homes, our professions, our home towns and our home churches. "During this week-end we began to call one another by our first names," said a delegate from Madagascar. At the same time the delegates began to gain a clearer view of their task. It was not the language difficulty which proved to be the decisive obstacle to mutual understanding; the most difficult barrier lay somewhere else. And it became painfully evident during this week-end. A delegate of the Orthodox Church said, "At no other time have I so strongly felt our brotherly unity as on this Sunday morning during the Communion service. Bound by our tradition, we could not participate. But as the others went to the altar we prayed and during the whole service we could feel the presence of the Holy Spirit, who unites us." A young Anglican added: "While I meditated the realization suddenly came to me that all other Anglicans suffered with me because we were not in a position to participate with the others in this Holy Feast. However, nothing could be done. An insurmountable barrier separated us at this moment." There was something different about the delegates as they returned to the work of the conference on Monday. They had been faced with the question of the

unity of the church and they were determined to tackle it.

How difficult this task was was shown by the questions raised by the Asians and the Africans who expressed themselves on topic II. Their spontaneous view of Europe was of a unity, something which Europeans have never learnt as yet. They spoke very naturally about Europe's responsibility: "At one time you played the part of rulers in the world. This role has ended. But do not think, because of this, that you have no role whatsoever to play. We expect that you will remain faithful and will now serve the world which you once ruled. As rulers, you gave us your differences and your divisions, even in Christianity. We now expect that you will serve the world by overcoming the divisions within your own churches." During this critical phase of the Lausanne experiment a change slowly began to take place. Was it a sign of indifference to world problems, of helplessness and perplexity in the face of existing divisions, or perhaps a sign of modestly limiting oneself to essential matters and of a sense of reality that the question of intercommunion more and more began to occupy the foreground in the thinking of the delegates?

Professor Hoekendijk of Holland had challenged the delegates: "For God's sake be impatient and begin to do the impossible thing, that which tradition and dogma appear to forbid. Hold Communion together as the Lord commanded his disciples to do." And he added: "Be revolutionaries!" This challenge met with response. The delegates petitioned the conference leaders to hold a common Communion service. The conference leaders declined; they were not authorized to hold such a service and were furthermore bound by commitments to the member churches of the WCC. Nevertheless, that which was not planned and which could not be, did actually take place. At 2.30 on Friday, July 22 one thousand two hundred delegates gathered in the church of St. Francis in the heart of Lausanne; nine hundred of them received communion from Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian pastors. They received it standing or kneeling according to their customs or according to the inspiration of the moment. Those who could not come celebrated in prayer along with them.

But those who observed this group of young delegates recognized that here were no

revolutionaries. Those who came were a group of obedient young Christians who were soberly concerned with the divisions in their churches. They came, nevertheless obedient to the clear command of their one Lord: "This do in remembrance of me." And they did it, determined not to give up the experiment of Lausanne.

Thus this hour on July 22 in the church of St. Francis at Lausanne was no moment of great exultation; it was much more a very humbling moment, which showed us all how greatly we need light, how very much we all need the One Light of the World, Jesus Christ.

Lausanne—an experiment! How much time, work, energy and money the churches of Switzerland, the churches of Europe, the members of the staff and the delegates had invested in the preparations for and the carrying out of this experiment. And this was the result!

A Communion service outside the conference itself, which was attended by only two thirds of the delegates and at which only half of the delegates could communicate. One might view this as a disillusioning result of a conference which had taken unity as its theme. But with this the whole truth has not yet been said; something took place here which can in no way be explained: "Namely the firm, though unexplainable certainty that we belong together. And we cannot do without one another. We have also seen what we lack. When we return home we must not refrain from telling our churches about it. We need more freedom from our inherited traditions and their restrictions, so that we shall really be one at a future conference." This will to remain together was often expressed in very unusual and youthful manner. And why not? It was a youth conference. One delegate said: "Our study group amounted to nothing at all, but in the last session we prayed together. Everyone spoke as he felt and at its conclusion we took leave of each other with a warmth of feeling which had not been there before." With an embarrassed smile at this confession he added: "And tonight we're going out together!" Many of the groups met together like this "after hours." Being together in the sessions was simply not enough. Parting was difficult for all.

But does this in itself warrant an experiment such as Lausanne? Hasn't this "we want to stay together!" been the result of other ecumenical conferences as well?

Lausanne was an experiment. Did it succeed? I raised this question with the President of the conference, Canon E. Patey and with Pastor Ernst Lange, who was commissioned to draft the final resolution. Here are their answers. Canon E. Patey: "The delegates have come here in order to discover the church of Jesus Christ as it is witnessed to in the New Testament. They thereby entered into lively discussions with one another and together they entered into conversation with the Bible. The morning Bible studies were the heart of the conference. This conversation will continue. Future years will show whether Experiment Lausanne was successful or not. I am convinced that the delegates will return to their churches as better Christians, that is, not as comfortable Christians. They will raise uncomfortable questions in their churches; many will say to their churches that it is impossible to travel to another ecumenical conference under these same conditions, namely that we are not allowed to celebrate Communion together. This will be a step forward in the question of inter-communion."

In his address on topic III: "What do we do when we go home?", Pastor Ernst Lange answered the question concerning the success of Experiment Lausanne in the following manner: "Let me illustrate with an ancient legend—two monks were reading in an ancient book that at the end of the world there would be a place where heaven and earth would touch; there would be a door and whoever went through this door would have achieved perfection and would see God in all his glory. The two monks left their cloister in order to seek this door; they wandered through the streets of this world and withstood the thousand and one dangers of human life. They grew old and grey during their pilgrimage but finally they reached the place which they had sought and stood before the door. Seven times they were tempted by the Devil before they were allowed to knock; they withstood all temptations, the way was free and they knocked on the door. The door opened and they went in, closing their eyes tight like children going in to the room at Christmas time. Suddenly they opened their eyes and discovered that they were again home in their own monastery cells which they had left many decades before; the open Bible lay on the table as before and the bells called to morning watch in the chapel. Just as those monks did, we too stand before the last door. The same painful surprise

awaits us. There is no pious fairyland on the other side of the door. Behind the door lies our daily life, our all-too-familiar, uninspiring and ordinary congregations and all that belongs to them. Whether Experiment Lausanne succeeds or not will depend upon whether and how we go through this door."

Eighteen hundred delegates have returned to their home congregations from Lausanne. There the test will come. They will seek this door. They will continue Experiment Lausanne at home.

ARMIN BOYENS

Inter-Church Aid

Towards a New Understanding of Inter-Church Aid

**Annual Consultation of the Division of
Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees,
Berlin, July 20-26, 1960**

I

THE DELEGATES who attended the consultation of the Division of Inter-Church Aid from July 20-26 left Berlin with the obvious feeling that they had participated in an especially fruitful, in fact, most significant conference. This is equally true for those who have long been active in the relief work of the churches and who attended the last few consultations in Eastbourne (1957), Evian (1958) and Spittal (1959). The aptness of the choice of motto—Towards a New Understanding of Inter-Church Aid—was fully substantiated during the course of the discussions.

The annual conferences of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees of the WCC are not called for the purpose of drafting resolutions. This is the responsibility of the administrative committee of the Division, which met at St. Andrews two weeks after the Berlin meeting. The annual consultations are intended to take stock of the Division's work and to plan the lines along which future work and cooperation can be developed.

The conference program was divided into three parts: The consultation opened with

the report by the director of the Geneva Division on the relief work which has up till now been carried out by the WCC; at the same time this report indicated the tasks facing us in the next few years. In part two of the discussions, the areas of need throughout the world were individually examined and possibilities for assistance were discussed. The third part dealt with more basic questions, above all with ways to combine all the resources of the church in the struggle against hunger and misery in the lands under development.

II

In his annual report Dr. Leslie E. Cooke, director of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees, illustrated the scope of the material relief given by the churches of the WCC with most impressive figures. According to his estimates it amounted to about \$63 million. Since 1954 1 million tons of food stuffs were distributed in 45 countries. During the past 11 years, new homes, mostly in other continents, were found for 220 thousand homeless people. 400 thousand more refugees are being cared for at the present time. The Geneva Division has sent out a summons for aid in catastrophes 44 times during the past 5 years, seventeen in the past eighteen months. The churches throughout the world answered these appeals with contributions amounting to more than \$2,557 million, not including the large donations of goods. Since 1955, 762 students of theology have been awarded WCC scholarships for a year's study abroad. In the Casa Locarno, a home operated by the World Council, nearly 1,000 church workers, not a few of whom came from East European countries, found rest and recuperation during the last five years. The so-called "teams" also belong to the work of the Division of Inter-Church Aid. Since the establishment of the Greek Team and the CIMADE work team, interest in this type of ecumenical assistance has increased. Today the Greek Team is active in three different parts of Greece. Another group has been at work in South Italy since 1958 and a team has just been established in Kenya. Beyond this there are plans to begin such a team in Tunisia. CIMADE supports teams in Marseille, Algeria, West Africa and Dakar.

In the next few years the establishment of such teams should increase substantially. In

order to carry out the comprehensive projects which are under discussion at the moment the cooperation of mature, trained men and women who would be willing to interrupt their professional careers for a few years is especially needed.

In his report the director of the Division furthermore stressed that in the future the Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican churches throughout the world will have to do a great deal more in order to eliminate the misery which exists in the lands under development. Projects aimed at raising the economic level and at improving the means of food production must be strengthened. The churches must be prepared to undertake specific projects which are planned as examples of comprehensive constructive aid. The first project of this kind will probably be the Bengal Refugee Service which the churches of Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany and the USA as well as Lutheran World Service are planning to finance. A preparatory commission from the Indian churches met on July 13 in Calcutta with representatives from American, German, and other churches as well as with Dr. Bengt Hoffman, Director of Lutheran World Service. At this meeting the Indian delegates pledged that their churches would raise 100,000 rupees themselves for this project. The goal of the Bengal Refugee Service is to help the 3 million refugees in the region around Calcutta, whose need far exceeds that of the refugees in Hong Kong, according to information given by Pastor Brash (secretary of the East Asian Christian Conference for Inter-Church Aid), to build the basis for a new life. The concern here is with "bread" in the wider sense which Luther gave the term "daily bread" in his interpretation of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Essential as the church's work in this one area might be (even Asian churches are already planning to cooperate), it will not suffice in the face of the indescribable need of millions and more than millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Thus, preliminary discussions on the inauguration of further comprehensive aid programs in Africa and Latin America were already held in Berlin.

"We must understand afresh if we are to carry through the ministries already committed to us and answer the calls which are coming to us," concluded Dr. Cooke, "that our concern that men should have bread must find its inspiration and motivation in a con-

cern for what is more than bread. God has not set us in the kind of world nor made us the kind of creatures who can be satisfied by concentration upon material needs alone. If men are to have bread, then they must be concerned with more than bread, with justice and its sway in their society... If there is to be justice, political, civil, social, economic, then there must be a concern for more than justice, there must be a concern for the love revealed and validated in the Cross."

II

From the consultations on the "supply" and "demand" in Inter-Church Aid it was evident that Europe has undergone a process of economic recovery during the last few years and that, on the other hand, the world's attention is more and more being focussed on the problems of the "areas in rapid social change."

To be sure, the amount of assistance requested of the European churches has somewhat increased over the sum of the previous year. Yet it is apparent that the emphasis is shifting in the direction of an intensification of the so-called stewardship and evangelization as well as in the direction of increased acceptance of social responsibility. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the European churches are, in increasing measure, participating in relief work outside their own lands.

Not only the German churches, upon whose request the shipments of American surplus goods to the Federal Republic through Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief have been canceled since July 1, 1960, but also smaller church groups such as those in Spain, Hungary, Portugal and Italy have sought to express their connection to the ecumenical world through contributions to Inter-Church Aid. The churches in Portugal, for example, have contributed for refugee work in India, the Near East and Austria. Even Asian churches have begun to participate in the task of ecumenical aid, even though their contributions at present are small. "Hands first clasped in the act of giving and receiving," commented Dr. Cooke on this gladdening fact, "are now hands joined in the partnership of administering to others in need." Even in the Orthodox and Old Catholic churches tendencies to contribute not only in situations of urgent need but to establish a permanent fellowship of reciprocal aid

are noticeable. The concern here is broader than mere material aid.

In the list of projects more space is occupied by the projects of Africa and Asia than ever before. While one could see a way of meeting the needs of Europe, great as they were, the extent and severity of the misery in Africa, Asia and Latin America seems to exceed the possibility of any solution. In the face of these enormous problems, the aid given by the churches seems almost insignificant. What matters is that the church give aid in urgent situations such as Calcutta and that its assistance serve as an example. Alongside the services which have already become traditional in areas of need such as the Near East and Hong Kong, we are increasingly faced with the need of providing technical training for individuals so that they can help their people to improve their standard of living. The Christians in Africa and Asia feel themselves specially called to this service. The World Council will assist them according to the means at its disposal. This task is especially urgent in Africa. Careful consideration must be given to the means by which non-theologians from the churches in lands under development (students who one day want to be technicians, agriculturalists, engineers, teachers, doctors, politicians, social workers, etc.) can be invited to study in the more developed lands in greater numbers than has been possible up till now.

III

Before the first World Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 the churches viewed their relief work as aid in catastrophes. In the years preceding the second World Assembly in Evanston in 1954 the conviction had grown that relief work is a permanent responsibility of the church. The annual consultations at Berlin, the last before the third World Assembly in New Delhi, showed that we are gradually recognising that the ecumenical ministry of service is an essential part of the total commission of the church of Jesus Christ. It is not only an aid to winning Christian unity or a medium for the renewal of the church. The *diakonia* is, along with *martyria* and *liturgia*, an essential element of the church's existence. Up till now the churches of the world have paid little attention to the significance of this statement in terms of the responsibility which Christianity has for those

who hunger and suffer throughout the world. Pastor Abrecht of the Geneva department of "Church and Society" referred to this in his address, "Rapid Social Change and Human Need," which introduced Part 3 of the consultations of the annual meeting.

Abrecht raised the question of the relationship between Christian relief work and evangelism or missions. Under which conditions, if at all, are we allowed to separate *diakonia* and *kerygma*, and what form does this take on the level of the organized church? Must we not also re-think the question of the relationship between Christian service and the Christian social structures? Are we aware of the fact that our activities in the areas under development should not only be prompted by Christian charity but also and above all by a sense of social justice? Which ethical and spiritual criteria should we apply when deciding which projects shall have precedence? Only after careful joint consideration by the various branches concerned, Evangelism and Inter-Church Aid, Laity and "Church and Society" can a solution to these problems be suggested. "We can very easily see that we are terribly late," said Abrecht, summing up. "We have been complacent too long before these enormous problems. We shall have to work very hard to make up for lost time."

The three discussion groups which concerned themselves with the problems raised by Pastor Abrecht worked very hard. They did not lighten their task by giving hasty answers; rather they added further questions to the list of questions already asked: Whether the Inter-Church Aid consultations should not be held at greater intervals in order to allow for regional consultations which might be of even greater value for the churches in areas under development; whether the churches should not do more to influence those governments who, through the misuse of their power, again and again cause people to flee; whether and in what form the churches should cooperate in the world-wide program of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), the "Freedom from Hunger Campaign." An extended debate took place on the question whether the World Council should not seek a common slogan of the type of the German motto "*Brot für die Welt*" or the line from the American spiritual "(Let us) break bread together" for its share in the struggle against hunger and need in the areas under development. Such a com-

mon "battle cry" would, it was proposed, give the churches more inner "*esprit de corps*" and more external "punch" in undertakings of such magnitude.

Many questions were raised in the groups and later in the plenary sessions and many remained unanswered. This was no mistake.

Hasty solutions are not good. The ground has been broken for a new understanding of Inter-Church Aid but it will take a great deal of spade-work before the full effect is felt.

BERNHARD OHSE

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

Norway

The Norwegian Debate on the Integration of the International Missionary Council with the World Council of Churches

IT HAS OFTEN been said that the state church is an insurmountable obstacle to Christian service and Christian sacrifice. Now it certainly cannot be denied that in Norway it has been difficult to make people realize that the church needs much more money in order to carry out her work than what the state can collect through taxes. However, with regard to mission work the situation is different. For a long time the Norwegian congregations have made a considerable sum of money available for this purpose. On the other hand, this very great interest in missions is not accompanied by a corresponding concern for ecumenical questions. Many leading men, above all in Christian organizations, still hold a basically critical or an even negative position in regard to the ecumenical movement, despite the many changes which have taken place since the last war. This does not mean that ecumenical questions are not taken seriously or that the ecumenical movement is regarded as something of a plaything for those who are particularly interested in such matters. Yet the difference in importance which is accorded ecumenical and missionary questions in Norway becomes clearly evident in the light of the possible integration of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council.

Up till now all of the Norwegian missionary societies have cooperated in the IMC without any great difficulties or conflicts, whereas the proposed integration of the WCC and the IMC is met with serious misgivings. Already in April 1957 the Norwegian Missionary Council expressed its opposition to the integration proposal. The present president of the Norwegian Missionary Council, General Secretary Vågen, has repeatedly stated the position of the council in the newspapers and various magazines, and has given more detailed reasons for its attitudes. Outside of

Norway, this has led to the impression that a specifically "Norwegian position," exists as to the planned integration. Where such is the case, reference is generally made to the position of the missionary council, which, however, does not represent a full consensus within Norwegian Christianity. A significant positive position has been taken, for example, by the Professor of Missions at the Free Theological Faculty, Dr. O. G. Myklebust, who is at the same time director of the Institute for Missionary Research ("Egedeinstitutet") in Oslo. Dr. Myklebust sharply criticized the position of the Norwegian Missionary Council in an article in the *Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon*. Even the General Secretary of the Norwegian Mission Society who was formerly director of the World Mission Department of the Lutheran World Federation, Dr. Fridtjov Birkeli, has spoken against the arguments of the Missionary Council and has repeatedly refused to identify himself with its negative attitude towards the WCC.

What, then, are the reasons which led the Norwegian Missionary Council and its president to adopt such a negative position? There are six reasons which can be gleaned from the available declarations on this subject.

1. The theological basis of the WCC, according to which all churches can be members of the World Council "who acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour," is regarded as unsatisfactory.

This criticism has perhaps not paid sufficient attention to the discussions on the Basis which have taken place within the World Council itself. The Basis is an attempt to express the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, and a commission on the basis has stressed the trinitarian meaning of this formulation in a report which was accepted by the Evanston Assembly. The fact that a unanimous decision by the Central Committee of the WCC in August 1959 raised no objection to the trinitarian formulation proposed by a commission in New Haven in 1957 because it was in full agreement with the faith of the member churches seems not to carry any weight. The polemics being waged against the Basis of the World Council seem primarily to grow out of a conviction that a unanimous interpretation of the

authority of the Bible, and perhaps even a doctrine of the inspiration of the Scripture, are necessary presuppositions for cooperation in the WCC. It is thereby implied that only on the basis of such presuppositions can one work together with Christians who belong to various denominations, with Baptists, Methodists etc.

It is doubtful how much would be gained by the addition of a reference to the Holy Scriptures in the formulation of the Basis. Such a reference would not solve the question of truth, which would continue to be a problem with a view to the various confessions. An addition as indicated might therefore be of a purely formal nature.

In this connection, attention is frequently called to the fact that the IMC has no basis; and that this has posed no obstacle to cooperation. Those who derive a positive attitude toward the IMC and a negative one toward the WCC out of the fact the IMC has to do merely with practical cooperation seem to forget that the churches involved in the Missionary Council are for the most part themselves members of the World Council and that their representatives to both groups are to a large extent the same.

2. It is said that the World Council is influenced by liberal theology and a so-called modernism.

In connection with this assertion, it is maintained that basic Christian truths have not succeeded at all in determining the course of ecumenical discussions. It has furthermore been implied that if such questions were allowed to come up and were to be discussed, they would split the World Council. Therefore, in the opinion of some mission people of Norway, the World Council promotes liberal theology. The Norwegian Missionary Council could not assume the responsibility for the effect this would have on the integration of missionary work into the World Council. In opposition to this, Dr. Birkeli, among others, has called attention to the fact that liberal theology is no stronger in the World Council than it is in the IMC. He maintains that a positive theological development has taken place in both groups during the last two decades. For this reason it is surprising that the same groups who want nothing to do with the WCC obviously see no difficulty in cooperating in the IMC and even have regarded such cooperation as welcome and significant. It is difficult to understand why one thing

is impossible while the other is regarded as meritorious and worthwhile. Furthermore, it should be sufficiently well known that the member churches of the WCC bear no responsibility for the theological statements of other member churches. A church's discipline as such should not be any stricter in regard to outside groups than it is in regard to its own members. Meanwhile, very seldom does anyone leave the church because some of its leading representatives are not dogmatically correct.

3. The Norwegian Missionary Council fears that the integration of the WCC and the IMC will lead to a dangerous concentration of power.

Such a development would certainly be dangerous, particularly for the work of the mission societies. Integration could in fact reduce the significance and the influence of the IMC and could give the WCC a dominant position. These misgivings are understandable in the light of the tendencies toward centralization in our day, even though we know that the WCC is only a "council" just like the IMC.

Along with this, we must not forget that the proposed new commission will have a rather independent position and that at least two thirds of its members will be elected by the mission councils themselves. The fear of a mammoth organization may be somewhat over-exaggerated. To a small and financially weak church, the WCC could easily seem like a huge structure, while to certain congregations in the United States, whose annual budget is higher than that of the whole WCC, the latter must seem like a modest undertaking. Attention should perhaps be called to the fact that the total budget of the WCC represents only two-thirds of the budget of the second largest Norwegian mission society and exactly half the budget of the leading Norwegian mission society. At any rate "concentration of power" is hardly the right expression. The WCC does not have any more "power" than the IMC. It can exercise no "power" over the member churches. Nobody knows that better than the General Secretary of the WCC himself. Instead of a "concentration of power" the most we can talk about is a strong influence on the member churches. And here we should certainly raise the question whether it is not our duty to make our individual voices heard within this council rather than to stand on the side lines and complain about its alleged dangers.

4. The fact that the Orthodox and Coptic churches are members of the WCC raises particular difficulties for the Norwegian Missionary Council.

What is obviously implied here is that these churches have so strongly opposed Protestant missionary work that it would not be possible to work with them in the same body. It seems clear that the attitude of the Orthodox churches as well as that of the Coptic Church has in various ways and at various times caused difficulties for Protestant mission work. On the other hand, however, it may be said that these churches have become more open to missionary work through their membership in the WCC and that the WCC has already done a great deal to alleviate the situation. It is even possible that a development will take place for which Protestants can only be grateful. On several occasions authoritative "Orthodox" spokesmen have expressed the opinion that the Orthodox Church must gain a new understanding of the place and task of mission work. It is not impossible that in the future the Orthodox churches will learn to value the Protestant churches much more than they do at present, and one can certainly find no example which shows that the work of Protestant missions has been made more difficult because of the WCC.

In this connection the reasons given by the Belgian Missionary Council for rejecting integration are remarkable. The Belgian Missionary Council was the first one outside of Norway which gave a definite negative answer. Its rejection was based on the situation in the Congo. Furthermore, it expressed the fear that the Missionary Council might lose its independence through integration, and that the Orthodox churches might leave the WCC. It is interesting that, as regards the last point, opposing arguments are used to arrive at the same conclusion.

5. It is feared that a number of mission societies will leave the Norwegian Missionary Council were it to join the new commission for World Missions.

The question raised here is whether or not it is right to sacrifice local unity for the sake of international unity. It is argued that the word of God and Christian experience accord an essentially greater significance to local unity than they do to international organizations and associations. The theological basis for such a definite statement may, however, be somewhat dubious.

6. The actual and most profound reason for the rejection of integration involves a distinct view of the church.

One of the primary objections against integration was the critical attitude of certain younger churches in America and Asia towards missions. This was cited in a letter of the Norwegian Missionary Council dated April 17, 1959. It was said, and certainly with some right, that the words missions and mission societies are not very popular in various Asian and African churches. The conclusion was drawn that this represents a dangerous nationalism. It was furthermore feared that "this could lead to a basic perspective and to a tendency which over-evaluates the church as an institution, so that the true character and goal of mission work would suffer a serious blow."

In order to understand this statement we must see it against the background of the religious development in Norway during the last century. This development was, to a great extent, determined by the tension between the church and independent organizations. These organizations, both for foreign as well as for home missions, did not actually leave the church but they have generally maintained a critical attitude towards the church. On the other hand, through revival movements and a strong lay movement they have given the church new life. Above all they have been critical of the church as an institution. The Christian character of the local congregation was called into question. Because of this, it was more or less consequent that the associations of the faithful in independent organizations were viewed as the really Christian congregations rather than the local congregation or the church. If the churches in Asia and Africa want to develop fellowship with the churches in the West then, according to the missionary societies, the societies themselves best represent the western churches.

Today the church of Norway seems to have undergone a profound change in structure. In former years the structure of the Norwegian church was determined by the tension between the official church and the independent organizations. Today a new free will activity has developed within the church as a whole as well as in the local congregations. This new development, however, is closely connected with the various organs of the church (the bishops and the diocesan councils, the pastors and the congregational council).

Thereby a new situation has arisen which offers a way out of the former tensions.

It is also significant that the question of the church as an institution has been raised in a new setting through this development because this new activity, while it is closely related to the official, institutional church, is not in itself an institutional phenomenon in the regular sense of the word.

The question arises whether the view expressed in the letter of the Norwegian Missionary Council does not miss the real interest of the younger churches in Asia and Africa. The younger churches will hardly dispute the fact that the Norwegian mission societies which have remained within the church truly represent the church of Norway (the missions of the free churches are all closely connected with their churches). However, the younger churches not only desire contacts with the churches through the missionary societies but they seem to desire to be in contact with the churches in the whole range of their activity. It is maintained that the IMC represents the church just as much as does the WCC. It is true that both councils represent the Christian church. However, the conclusion cannot be drawn from this that they both represent the church in the same sense or in the same manner. Most of the western churches are represented in the IMC by independent mission societies. Only a church can be a member of the WCC. In the first case the representation is indirect, in the second it is direct. In the first case the church is represented by special organizations. As far as Norway is concerned, this difference is a formal one without great significance, but from the perspective of the younger churches it involves the question of equal rights and equal standing. It is understandable that the younger churches in Asia and Africa desire to maintain relationships not only with organizations who have a special mission within the church but also with the whole church, that is, with the institutional church. It is certainly justifiable to warn the younger churches against over-emphasizing the church as an institution. But perhaps it might also be justifiable to warn mission societies in the West against under-estimating the societies as institutions.

General Criticisms of the WCC

As has already been said, the opposition to the integration proposals cannot be under-

stood as an isolated phenomenon. It is clear that it is bound up with definite theological approaches and tensions within the church of Norway. In certain circles, of late, the WCC has been openly and pointedly criticized. The question of integration has without doubt contributed to the sharpness of the criticism. The integration proposal has been the direct occasion for the criticism of the WCC, but not its real reason. We can understand the negative attitude of the Norwegian Missionary Council better, if the general critique of the WCC is kept in mind. Following are some of the main points of this critique even though they are not actually mentioned in the letter of the Norwegian Missionary Council:

1. It is said that the basis for all conversations within the WCC must be the *sola scriptura*.

There is general agreement that the basis for conversations as far as the Norwegian Church, as a Lutheran church, is concerned, must be the *sola scriptura*. This does not mean, however, that the acceptance of this "Lutheran" principle must be made a precondition for theological conversations within the realm of the WCC. This was not true in the Reformation period; instead this basic question was the subject of discussion. This may also be the case in our day. In our conversations, for example, with the Orthodox, we should attempt to illuminate the whole question of the relationship between Scripture and tradition. We should not forget that the Orthodox point of view is not tradition against Scripture, but tradition and Scripture. Acceptance of, or agreement upon, theological principles cannot and should not alone be the basis for conversations. Rather it should be the consciousness that we are one in Christ. Therefore the question is open whether the Basis of the WCC is not a more appropriate starting point than some kind of a basis which makes acceptance of the "principle" *sola scriptura* a condition for conversations between churches.

2. It is maintained with reference to the high-priestly prayer of Jesus that the unity of the church is an invisible unity.

However, the unity of the church cannot and should not be invisible, at least not in the sense that it is absolutely impossible to give visible expression to this unity. The boundaries of the church, if we can use this word, are invisible, that is, we cannot and should not try to set the boundaries of the church. But if it is true that those who believe in Christ

should be one in order that the world might believe in him, then it seems clear that "the world" should in some sense or other be able to see, experience and understand that Christians are one in Christ.

3. It is said that, according to Lutheran definition, the church is the assembly of the faithful.

The Lutheran definition of the church says, to be sure, that "one, holy Christian church will be and remain forever, the assembly of all believers among whom the gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the gospel." (Conf. Aug. VII) Here a tension between the objective and the subjective is clearly recognizable. Where the subjective has been one-sidedly stressed, as has been the case in the discussions on the WCC, there is a tendency toward "spiritualism." Where one-sided emphasis is placed on the objective, there is a tendency toward Roman Catholicism. If either of the two is exclusively stressed then the tension which, at any rate according to the Lutheran view, is decisive for the true understanding of the church, has been lost.

Possibilities for a Decision

1. There are, as has been said, people such as Dr. Myklebust who do not agree with the reasons which have been given by the Norwegian Missionary Council and who do not regard these as sound or sufficient. But this does not mean that they are necessarily for integration as it stands today or that they have no understanding for the objections which have been raised against integration. Other reasons could be mentioned which, at least in the present situation, could lead to a negative position with regard to the integration proposal.

a) First of all, reference might be made to the historical development in Norway where mission work is carried on by mission societies which remain within the church but are nevertheless independent of the institutional church. It might be in the best interests of Norwegian missionary work that a corresponding pattern of organization be maintained on the international level, that is, a WCC and an IMC. This type of argument is valid and certainly bears some weight although one cannot expect that the organization of work in this "global" age must necessarily be along the lines of the tradition in Norway.

b) Dr. Birkeli and others have emphasized that it is best that missions have their own organization. This would insure that, at least in this organization, mission work will be the principle task while if integration takes place, missions will be only *one* task among many of the WCC. (When Dr. Birkeli indicated in Ghana that he would have voted in favor of integration, if he had had to, he gave as his reason the fact that the leaders of the IMC no longer believe in the independent existence of the IMC.)

c) It might be argued that the divisions within the church have a dialectical relationship to missions: on the one hand, these divisions have reached the extent which they have today through mission work itself, since they have been carried over into the younger churches through missions. On the other hand, missions are to a large extent a consequence of the church's division, as the many smaller churches could much more intensively carry out mission work than would have been possible for one centrally organized church.

2. The opponents of integration have repeatedly stressed that in these matters one should act with care in order to avoid unnecessary difficulties. They are certainly right. However, this is true for *both* sides. Attention should be paid especially to the following points:

a) Obviously there is no unanimous agreement as to the basis of a negative position of the Norwegian Missionary Council. In this situation it should be possible to agree upon a statement advocating the maintaining of the status quo for the time being.

b) In a similar way it should be possible to find a solution to the problem of the future status of the Norwegian Missionary Council. Those who are in favor of affiliation with the new division of missions could give in and could be satisfied with a consultative status. Those who are against integration should also accept a solution along this line as a consultative status with the proposed commission for world missions would not mean a closer relationship with the WCC than the relationship which already exists between the IMC and the WCC.

It is to be anticipated that the majority of the members of the Norwegian Missionary Council will vote against integration. What will then be the relationship between the missionary societies and the Norwegian church, should integration be accomplished? The core

of the whole debate on integration evidences that in Norway one has been happy to cooperate with the IMC, but will have nothing to do with the WCC. The question may be raised how the missionary societies which hold this view can stay in fellowship with the Norwegian church, which is a member of the WCC. One may argue for or against integration in many different ways. One could be of the opinion that it would be best for organizational reasons, at least for the time being, to maintain both councils. For practical reasons, or perhaps on principle, one could be for maintaining the IMC. But one thing is clear: the Norwegian church cannot accept the arguments given by the Norwegian Missionary Council. It cannot do so as long as it is and wishes to continue to be a member of the WCC. However in this respect we have hardly anything to fear in the future. Even those missionary societies who may agree with the arguments given in the letter of the Norwegian Missionary Council are hardly likely to draw the conclusion that this must lead to a revision of their relationships to the institutional church in Norway. There is every reason to believe that this problem will be solved through one of those fortunate inconsistencies of life.

HENRIK HAUGE

Africa

The Urban Church

The Fact of Urbanization

THE RAPID PROCESS OF URBANIZATION of African society need not be proved by means of figures. It is a fact that must be taken for granted. African society, which for centuries had been rural, is undergoing a rapid change in consequence of industrialization and urbanization. In the Union of South Africa roughly a third of the population is concentrated in the huge townships. No doubt, similar figures could be adduced for other African territories.

Economic factors have mainly been responsible for the drift to the towns. To these we must add, however, the love of adventure, the lure of the unknown, dissatisfaction with the monotony and lack of opportunity of rural life, and the challenge of the times.

It is difficult to say what percentage of those in the urban areas is urbanized, because an essential feature of urban population today is its fluctuating nature. There are no hard and fast demarcating lines between rural and urban populations. There is a constant coming and going. It is safe to say, however, that there is hardly any single person—especially among the males—in Africa today who has not spent some time at least in an urban environment and been exposed to those influences that are peculiarly urban. But it is also true that even those who have become permanently urbanized still, to a large extent, have their roots in the rural areas and still draw upon the spiritual resources which have guided African society in the past and given it stability.

Urbanization in the full sense of the word exists there where families have settled in the towns. Such urbanized families exist in great numbers; but to a great extent the male element preponderates in African urban life. There are far more men than women in the towns. This is largely, though not exclusively, due to the migratory labor policy that obtains in parts of Africa. A further fact to note is that urban society consists largely of able-bodied men between the ages of say 20 and 45. The very young and the very old are in a minority and so are the women.

It is safe to say that the process of urbanization will increase and that a permanent, fully urbanized population, divorced entirely from the land, will emerge and is already emerging at a rapid rate.

The Meaning of Urbanization

Urbanization may be looked upon as the spearhead of the process of differentiation that is sweeping over the continent of Africa. Society in Africa was, and largely still is, homogeneous. Differences in wealth and rank and position did exist, but the general impression that one gets is that of homogeneity. Society was non-progressive and static, well-organized with duties well-defined within the pattern and framework of the tribe.

Urbanization is producing a new type of person who approaches closely to the image of urbanized man everywhere: pushful, energetic, mentally alert, progressive and self-reliant, but also more unreliable and more prone to succumb to the many temptations.

Such differentiation may be particularized as follows:

A) *Occupational Differentiation*

In rural society occupations differed mainly according to sex and age. In the urban area individual ability and merit determine one's occupation and consequently the position one holds in society. Whereas in rural society nearly all followed agricultural or pastoral pursuits, we now get far greater differentiation in the towns irrespective of age or sex: professional men and women—doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses, social workers; businessmen and traders; artisans and skilled tradesmen and laborers; and the vast array of unskilled laborers that is developing into an uprooted proletariat.

B) *Economic Differentiation*

Urbanization has meant a change-over from a subsistence economy to a money economy. In rural society there were no great extremes of wealth and poverty and there was great mutual helpfulness. We now get in towns wage earners who are dependent on the weekly paypacket and salaried men and women who get their remuneration at the end of every month. Then there is the emergent capitalist class; there are no millionaires yet, but there definitely are wealthy people. We now get beggars and utter destitution.

C) *Intellectual and Educational Differentiation*

In the towns we get a great concentration of graduates, doctors, writers, journalists and intellectuals. Greater than educational achievements that can be measured by means of examinations is the difference in intellectual outlook between country and town. In the urban areas you get greater scepticism, greater questioning, more probing into things, more intellectual alertness than in the country. You also get greater needs in this respect that are met by books, libraries, theatres, concerts and social gatherings.

D) *Religious Differentiation*

The old religious sanctions are on the way out, but still persist to a surprising extent. The old gods were greatly tied to the soil and to the seasons, to places and to tribal institutions. What has or will take their place? In towns you get the agnostic next to the believer in superstitions of the most primitive kind.

E) *Moral Differentiation*

Tribal society was characterized by moral stability and the validity of ethical values. Urban society is largely a society without women and characterized by the breakup of family life, a high illegitimacy rate, crime and drink. True also of urban life is the fact that you get shining examples of devotion to duty, purity and the upholding of ethical values generally.

One should also mention the use of leisure time and the interest evinced in games and sport generally: football, tennis, boxing, athletics, etc.; music and singing competitions; the emergence of new cooperative societies and mutual aid; gambling and games of chance.

Special mention must be made of the fact that urban society is multilingual, because this bears directly on the work of the church. In rural areas society is usually linguistically homogeneous; in towns usually "all" languages are spoken.

The Task of the Church

A) *Facilities*

The church has taken up the challenge of urbanization. The old pattern was visible and tangible in the mission house and the church building next to it. Few such "mission stations" remain in the urban areas and they are definitely an anomaly. The demand of the times consists of the urgent need for facilities in the townships. Urbanization has brought with it huge housing schemes and in these areas facilities have to be provided. One thinks first of all of places of worship; next, of residences for the office bearers of the church—pastors and others; next, of halls and centers of recreation and social life. Such places serve as centers of integration in the general disintegration of urban life. Without such facilities the church can do nothing, or very little, to meet the challenge of urbanization. Great sums of money will be necessary, but they will be well invested and will pay rich dividends. Building is priority number one in the life of the urban church of today in Africa.

B) *Office Bearers*

The position of the missionary in the life of the urban church in Africa is peripheral. He

can be a guide and can help with advice, but do little more. The pivotal position is that of the indigenous pastor who in every respect shares the life of the people to whom he ministers. He must be a man of the highest integrity in order to avoid the many pitfalls and temptations of urban life. He must have had the best training available, be thoroughly westernized, but not out of sympathy and out of touch with the common folk of his people. A good general education and a thorough grounding in the principles of theology will enable him to hold his own and act as guide and preacher and counselor. What is needed is a grasp of the great principles of Christianity and not so much detailed knowledge of facts, the ability to think along theological lines and not so much a mastery of techniques. Only thus will he be able to adjust himself to his ever-changing world without betraying his charge. If the provision of facilities is priority number one, then the right kind of pastor is a very close second priority!

He will need and, if he is the right kind of man, he will find helpers of various kinds: voluntary, part-time, full-time, paid and unpaid, trained and untrained. It is conceivable that we need people for social work who have received some training. But that is only an example.

C) *Preaching and Teaching*

The proclamation of the Gospel is the essential task of the church in any environment. This proclamation cannot and should not consist of the repetition of Biblical facts, but should make the essentials of the Gospel relevant, meaningful, real and transparent to the listeners in their environment.

Teaching the young in the Sunday school and the confirmation class needs careful attention. Apart from these "normal" activities of the church, courses for laymen and women should be organized. It is here where intellectuals can be met on their own ground. It is here where instruction in the great Biblical truths can be given. Discussion groups could emerge from such courses that would help to bring the light of the Gospel truth to shine on the darkness of urban life. Such training is absolutely necessary for those who in any way may be classed as "helpers"—elders, leaders of women's and youth organizations, Sunday school teachers. All these need regular guidance and instruction.

D) *Methods and Means*

1. In urban areas the church should endeavor to entrust only one congregation to a man. In the rural areas he is frequently in charge of several scattered congregations. In towns one or perhaps two contiguous congregations should be the ideal.
2. Use should be made of committees and sub-committees and the pastor should understand the art of delegating tasks. Great care should be given to the keeping of records and of minutes and of transacting business and conducting elections.
3. Great care must be taken in financial matters. The administration of funds is a very delicate matter and has frequently given rise to criticism. The church must also learn how to raise funds. There is much to be learnt yet in this whole field. Money is readily available in the towns. The church must learn to get it and to administer it properly.
4. The church should make use of modern means of reaching people. The press and literary work generally have not received the attention they need yet. I do not only refer to church periodicals and papers, the secular press should also be used. The radio also offers possibilities which should be made use of. In addition house to house canvassing can be done in the urban areas much more effectively than in the country where the population is scattered over a wide area.
5. Pastoral care and counseling and visiting in the houses of people is an essential task of the church. Big hospitals should be visited regularly; prisons and other places of detention also. Where there is illness, death or some other form of distress the church should bring comfort.
6. It is essential that the church take its due share in the public life of the community. Its office bearers should serve on boards and committees, especially if these be such as serve educational, social and humanitarian purposes.
7. Church organizations for the young, for women and other groups are assumed to exist everywhere and are mentioned only here.

8. Cooperation and comity should characterize the attitude to other churches. It must be made clear to the outside world that Christians, though worshipping in different churches, yet serve one Lord.

P. G. PAKENDORF

Church Discipline in Africa

IN AN ESSAY which will provide the basis for discussion at the All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Madagascar in the Fall of 1960, Stefano Moshi, a Christian in a position of leadership in the Lutheran Church of Tanganyika, has enumerated the following reasons in justification of church discipline in the African churches:

1. To reform and save the brother or sister who has fallen;
2. To prevent the contamination of sin from ruining others;
3. To preserve the Church's order because God is the God of order;
4. To make the Church's confession and the truth to which she witnesses clear and unequivocal.

As disciplinary measures he cites exclusion from the Lord's Supper, either temporarily or permanently, fines in money or in natural products, punitive manual labor, private or public confession, enforced attendance at catechumen's classes again, temporary suspension of church membership, penal seats in the worship services, admonition and reproof.

"Sincere and earnest Christians," says Moshi, "do not question the necessity of church discipline. We feel that it is a vital part of the church's doctrine, and we regret every relaxation of church discipline in any church."

Seeing these statements against the background of the above-mentioned practices, one can easily draw the conclusion that church discipline has become an essential mark of the church in Africa.

One is first of all impressed by the fact that in an African congregation the dates of the preparatory services for the celebration of Holy Communion, which is often held only three or four times a year, are already announced weeks beforehand. To attend one

of these "preparatory services" is to enter into the official bureaucratic atmosphere of a court of law. Not only does the pastor, in the manner of a tax-collector, check whether the proper amounts have been paid, thereby purchasing one's right to communion, but the elders sit there like members of an assize court and review the life history of each communicant in a hearing which is often painful and which goes into every detail, in order to judge his "worthiness." The church considers itself as some sort of bailiff acting for God. The church council becomes a morality squad and the pastor a kind of heavenly prosecuting attorney.

I recall how a leading pastor of an independent church in the Cameroun finally stood up ceremoniously during a discussion on the free and unconditional grace of God and, trembling with agitation, asked: "Tell me one thing: can there be forgiveness without discipline?" He told me that he would be suspended from the ministry were he to grant absolution without inflicting a penalty. It can be said point-blank that church discipline in Africa has become *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*.

I

What gave rise to this development? Our first reaction is to cite theological or ecclesiastical reasons or to seek an explanation in either Pietism, Calvinism or Puritanism.

Certainly, the fact that the missionary movement is historically a child of Pietism plays a role. Nevertheless, this reason seems to me to be inadequate since church discipline can hardly be called a decisive characteristic of Pietism, despite all of its tendencies towards legalism. Calvinism also cannot be held responsible, because in the Cameroun, for example, as far as disciplinary measures are concerned, there is scarcely any difference between the Presbyterian and the Lutheran church. Equally, American Puritanism was not the only influence upon this development, since church discipline in the manner described above can also be found in mission fields which never came under its influence. Just read the Douala church laws of the Basel Mission of the late '80's!

These reasons based on church history all fall through more or less because right through all of Africa and right through all shades of mission work, church discipline has become a decisive factor in church life.

This seems to me to permit the conclusion that the nearest explanation lies in the psychology of the African himself. His attachment to and obedience to authority has led to the parish pastor being accorded the same position as that held by the tribal chief: the supreme judge. Compare the arguments with which the majority of the Africans at Marangu pleaded for an episcopal system in the Lutheran Church of Africa. Added to this is the pleasure Africans take in trials. Every African language has special words, which are much used, for this kind of thing. Trials are thoroughly enjoyed. Their patience when it comes to listening to arguments and counter-arguments seems limitless. A "palaver" is often the only welcome relief from the monotony of African village life. Finally, we must not forget that African culture is not concerned with guilt but with shame. The practical conduct of the African is not the result of inner deliberation but is conditioned by external control. A deed only becomes a wrong when it is discovered, branded as such, and punished by the surrounding society—be it the tribe or the congregation. One's guilt before God is not feared, but the shame in the eyes of men. Thus, conduct can only be influenced by means of this fear.

This psychological disposition of the African seems to me to correspond to the colonial psychology of the 19th Century, and there is no use making a secret out of the fact that the pioneer missionaries in Africa were consciously or unconsciously products of their time, adapting this psychology to the practice of missions which viewed the African as an irrational, immature child who must be reared by disciplinary measures. Not that the pioneer missionaries went at this systematically, instead the nature of the African continually tempted the missionary to treat him as he expected to be treated, as an immature child. The roots of this paternalism on the part of the missionaries lie not in the love of Christ, but in colonialism. In the African churches, which have gained their independence, this colonialism on the part of missionaries has been replaced by a colonialism on the part of the pastor. Just as the missionaries once sought to exercise their obvious predominant position through disciplinary measures, so today many African pastors seek to make up for their lack of spiritual authority by external measures, in that they interpret their ministry first and foremost as the office of judging and

meting out punishments. For this reason, they regret every relaxation of discipline.

However, we must still look to a deeper level in order really to be able to understand the phenomena of church discipline in Africa. The fact that 95% of all punishments meted out by the church are for adultery should cause us to stop and think. I am convinced that the preponderance of church discipline in Africa can be traced back to an essential weakness in the proclamation of the Gospel. What Africa needs today is a positive message about marriage. The success of missions, even in respect to movements like Islam for instance, depends in a decisive way upon this. Here is an area which has hardly been touched. Seldom does one hear a sermon on marriage in the mission field. In general the missionaries quietly assume that their form of married life is the norm for Christians and that it is possible for the Africans to understand and to copy it in motives, form and content. This is not the place to investigate this whole problem in detail. It must merely be mentioned that in a culture in which love is identified with sexuality, in which the individual's personal, erotic love life is a dimension of the human heart in which he lacks experience in all its aspects, in which, consequently, the idea of "faithfulness" does not exist, a word like "adultery" must remain an empty, abstract, juristic concept. In no other area do missionaries and Africans so fail to communicate with one another as in the area of marriage. Whereas for the African love spends itself in sex, for the pietistic missionary sex is often identified with sin—thus the equation: love equals sin! Should the church, then, preach a moral conduct as Christian whose motives and content are in the last analysis not understood, then it can only enforce this conduct through external legal measures.

The question of church discipline must be seen in close relationship to the question of marriage. It makes no sense to assail the ecclesiology of the African with theological arguments if we do not at the same time give him a theology of marriage. Certainly, the African winces at this point, thus reducing the missionary to silence. When I proposed to the Department of World Mission of the Lutheran World Federation that the question of marriage be made one of the central topics at the next All-Africa Conference, I was confronted with the fact that African church leaders objected to this suggestion. They

merely wanted to make legal pronouncements in regard to marriage, as to how it should be, but they did not want to open it to discussion. This does not surprise me at all, but simply substantiates my experience. The Africans instinctively feel that this point touches the very core. Characteristically, Stefano Moshi in his essay merely discusses the means and purposes of church discipline, but nowhere does he mention the conduct which prompts such disciplinary measures. To reform the church structure would at the most be trimming the top of the tree, while the roots remain infected as long as the question of marriage is not treated.

Nevertheless, even this explanation is not sufficient in order to grasp completely the phenomenon of church discipline in Africa. The deepest reason is certainly a theological one. The heathen deities were deities who punished. Conduct which violated the moral laws of tribal life were punished on the spot by illness, accident and death. This was their very nature. Then the missionaries came and preached: God does not punish, he forgives. The result was that, wherever this message was proclaimed, immorality increased in the African tribes. John C. Messenger has convincingly illustrated this procedure with regard to the Anang tribe in south-east Nigeria in his essay "The Christian Concept of Forgiveness and Anang Morality¹." Messenger writes:

.... "The spread of immorality is attested by the rapid increase during recent years in offenses tried by Native and Magistrates' Courts.... They place the primary blame for this condition on Christianity, in particular on the concept of God and salvation embodied in Christian dogma.

Protestantism, by preaching an "intellectual" gospel emphasizing salvation through faith... has fostered, however unintentionally, the widespread belief among young people that the Christian God forgives all sins. The youth tend to accept Christian morality as expounded by the missionaries, largely because of its similarity to Anang morality, and they understand that it is divinely sanctioned, yet the opinion is widely held that its tenets may be disregarded without fear of spiritual punishment if belief is maintained or if sins are confessed and absolved."

I can fully substantiate this from personal experience. It now appears to me that in the light of this situation the African churches have re-introduced the functions of heathen deities into the Christian church under the

guise of church discipline in order to ward off immorality. In other words: this practice does not represent a pietistic tendency as much as it does a catholicizing one.

II

The four theses mentioned above with which Stefano Moshi advocates and justifies church discipline substantiate this.

At first glance these arguments look attractive. There is no doubt that they are prompted by a burning love for the church of Jesus Christ. The concerns of the African church leaders are summarized here in a masterful manner: the salvation and protection of the brother in faith, order in the congregation, the church's witness to the world. It would be completely false to question the integrity of these motives. Nevertheless, a big delusion hides behind these four theses. Regardless how right the goals are, they cannot be reached in such a simple human manner.

"To reform and save the brother"—this no man can do, nor can it be accomplished by any disciplinary measure, regardless how carefully thought out and pedagogically wise it might be. Conversion and revival are miracles which only God can do, and, if men are used as instruments, then they must be pastorally and spiritually authorized witnesses, and not ecclesiastical functionaries and organs executing church law. This means that church discipline is something which, in the last analysis, only Christ himself can exercise; something which no man can initiate, but which God himself must bring to pass. The classic example of church discipline is still Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5). Here God himself stepped in, without his action having been anticipated or desired by any individual. He still does so again and again today. When we attempt to accomplish that which God alone can do and desires, through human punitive measures, we are guilty of a lack of faith in not entrusting this matter to God. There is a catholicizing compromise behind Moshi's theses. Here the church interferes in God's office. Thereby a kind of buffer zone is created which reduces the struggle between the divine and satanic powers over the human heart to a civil-judicial process, through which no one can be reformed, but which produces the type of nominal Christian who possesses no inner conviction.

¹ John C. Messenger, *Practical Anthropology*, Vol. 6, 3 May-June 1959.

Moshi bases his second thesis on an illustration from hygiene: church discipline is a kind of vaccine, to immunize against and check infection by sin. This is a classic example of the way in which a false illustration can be employed in order to make an unbiblical practice palatable. Precisely in respect of church discipline the Bible does not apply this example from the field of hygiene. Instead Jesus uses the illustration of weeds among the wheat. Matthew 13³⁰: "Let both grow together until the harvest."

What about church order? Hidden behind this thesis of Moshi is a mistrust of the Word and Sacrament. Obviously the proclamation of the Gospel is not in itself credited with the power to create and maintain order in the congregation. It must be supplemented by disciplinary measures. Here Moshi contradicts the Augsburg Confession, Article VII.

Luther himself has given us the best example as to how order in the congregation can be restored through Word and Sacrament *alone*, an example which at the same time makes clear that the passage cited above, Matthew 13³⁰, simply cannot be interpreted in the sense of a mere passive resignation. When Luther returned to Wittenberg in 1522 and found that the enthusiasts had thrown the congregation there into a state of disorder and revolt, he restored order simply by proclaiming the Word in his famous *Invocavit* sermons. Characteristically, the statement: "God is a God of order" is not contained in the Bible. I Cor. 14³³ says: "God is not a God of confusion but of peace." The direct fruit of the proclamation of the Gospel is then peace, from which order also grows, quite on its own. However, where the attempt is made to create order in a synergistic manner through human endeavors, because the proclamation of the Word is not trusted to produce it, only controversy and disorder result. The African congregations with their countless hearings on cases of adultery which continually follow one after another are the best proof of this.

Moshi's fourth thesis, which aims at protecting the truthfulness of the church's witness by creating a pure congregation, must be answered along the same lines: the primary concern must not be the purity of the congregation but the purity of the proclamation of the Gospel. Here also attack is the best defence. There, where the church passes on God's total offer intact in Word and Sacrament, there, where his grace is offered without

condition, the congregation is purified much better, from within. God acknowledges his church in that he himself disciplines it, and the discipline which he exercises is in reality much more radical and total than any human discipline could ever be. Jesus himself did not exclude Judas from the Last Supper, but reached him the morsel himself. Whereupon the decision between salvation and damnation was made. "Then after the morsel, Satan entered into him." (John 13²⁷)

III

This brings us to the means of church discipline which Moshi cited. Except for "minor" and "greater" excommunication, Moshi himself rejects these measures and says that they are no longer in use, although from my personal experience in the Cameroun I would question this latter statement. But let us assume with Moshi that exclusion from the Lord's Supper is the only legitimate form of church discipline. This gives rise to all sorts of difficult questions. I can only briefly mention them here.

First of all, a catholicizing tendency is immediately detectable here, for as soon as one differentiates between a shorter or a longer period of exclusion one must also of necessity differentiate in a Catholic manner between lesser and greater sins.

Furthermore, confusion about the meaning of exclusion from the Lord's Supper exists. Does it mean exclusion from the Kingdom of God, from life and eternal blessedness—being delivered up to the demonic forces? The Africans tend towards this interpretation. For them the Last Supper conveys very concrete saving and healing powers, often understood in a very material way. They hold a view, even in the Calvinist churches, which is very close to Luther's idea of the Sacrament as by nature a medicine against death. For them exclusion from the Sacrament means simultaneously being cut off from God.

If exclusion does not mean this, then what does it mean? The missionaries tend towards a more pedagogical interpretation, something like locking a naughty child in his room till he again obeys. However, the result is that participation in the Lord's Supper thereby loses its meaning.²

² Attention is drawn in connection with this question to a short study by Rudolf Hermann, *Die Probleme der Exkommunikation bei Luther und Thomas Erasmus*, published by Töpelmann, Berlin, 1955.

Behind all of this, however, there stands a greater question: whether the New Testament warrants the use of the Last Supper as a means of discipline at all. Moshi cites the following passages as the Biblical basis for his thesis: Matt. 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸, I Cor. 5^{5-6, 11-13}, Gal. 6⁴, II Thes. 3^{6, 14-15}, Rev. 2²⁻¹⁴, Eph. 5¹¹⁻¹³.

It is interesting that, with the exception of one, all these passages are taken from the Epistles and not the Gospels, a fact which I only want to mention in passing, without drawing any hasty conclusions from it. Apart from this, however, it does not seem to have occurred to Moshi at all that not a single one of the passages cited refers to the Lord's Supper.

If one compares, on the other hand, Matt. 18¹⁷ with Matt. 9¹⁰ and 11¹⁹, where Jesus even ate with tax-collectors, and if one adds to this his giving the morsel to Judas, then it becomes all the more questionable whether we have the right to infer from Jesus' example that the Last Supper, in which the Savior gives himself without condition to sinners can be devaluated to the status of a disciplinary measure.

Moshi did not even mention the only passage in the entire New Testament which links church discipline with the Lord's Supper, I Cor. 11. It expressly says here, however, in contrast to the practice in Africa: "Let a man examine himself" (v. 28), and not "Let the worthiness of a man be examined by the elders of the church." In verse 27, "unworthy" is not an attribute of the communicant, but an adverb modifying "to eat." "Unworthy" means to partake of the Lord's Supper as an ordinary meal without considering that here the Lord gives Himself in a particular manner. "Worthy" means to know oneself to be unworthy to confront the Lord. ("They alone are unworthy who will not admit themselves sinners."—Luther, Larger Catechism, point 262).

What is happening in Africa is, however, just the opposite: Here participation at the Lord's Supper is a procession of the righteous who thereby declare that they have not committed adultery during the last four weeks or at least were careful enough not to get caught.

What I have said under Part III I submit as a question for discussion, since I have not yet made up my own mind about it. On the whole, however, it nevertheless appears to me that sometime in the history of the church the question will be raised whether the church discipline which is now being exercised in

Africa, and which is even claimed to be an essential mark of the church, may not be the first really significant heresy which African churches were in a position to produce, not of course without the complicity of the mother churches and their missionaries.

WALTER A. TROBISCH

France

MY CONGREGATION

From the Life of a Lutheran Church in Paris

MY CONGREGATION has had no glorious past. In the area where we are located, Saint-Ouen, a suburb on the northern edge of Paris, the first Protestant work was begun shortly before the first World War by a neighboring pastor. He began by gathering a group of children on Thursdays for games and Bible stories. Around this a small congregation was gathered, whose simple little church was destroyed by an explosion in 1916. Since 1922 we have the lovely "Church of Peace." But please do not think of this as a secluded romantic chapel! My congregation is right in the middle of life. Our church stands on one of the main trunk roads along which heavy trucks rumble from the ports on the Seine to Paris until far into the night, so that at a weekday service or Bible study meeting the pastor's voice is often drowned out by the noises of the world. This certainly has many disadvantages but on the other hand it helps constantly to remind us that this noisy, excited world also belongs to God and to the church.

My congregation is indeed the smallest of the Lutheran churches in Paris. Indeed I hardly dare call it a "congregation," it is so small! Our membership file includes barely a hundred families; year in, year out we have scarcely more than five baptisms, two marriages and six burials to record. That is too few for an ordered congregational life, and when one considers that we in France receive no state subsidy of any kind, so that each mature congregation must provide for its livelihood and that of its pastor, then there can be no doubt that my congregation is no

"congregation" in the usual sense of the word. But its continued existence is a sign of God's grace and a proof of the brotherly love of the church of Christ. Certainly, when difficult times come to the church, some people often ask themselves whether a congregation such as mine does not represent an unremunerative burden for the church. But up till now we have lacked nothing, and it will be the same in the future.

For my congregation has the will to live, and the church wills that it live. My congregation knows its weaknesses. It knows what a small handful it represents amid the 51,000 inhabitants of our town. It knows that it must waive all public claims in the face of the prevailing Communism. It knows that out of about a hundred registered Protestant families barely a third actually adhere to the church, and that the rest are often more alienated from the gospel than are the sworn atheists. It knows that our families are so disrupted because of mixed marriages (with nominal Catholics and unbelievers) that only a very few of the children in our Sunday school have already heard the name of Jesus at home. It knows that the hectic and wearing life of a worker in Greater Paris scarcely leaves one any surplus time or strength for the church.

My congregation knows all this and yet it has the will to live. It wills that it be strong in battle and that it remain true to its Lord. And God gives it victories.

One of the *material* victories is the following, for example: A year ago we had to renovate our church tower; the framework was rotten and the cross on the tower had to be removed by the Fire Brigade. A million francs were needed to defray the costs of the repairs. Friends from as far away as Norway helped us to collect this sum. Nevertheless we were afraid we would be in debt for years to come. But the impossible happened: the whole sum came from gifts, and our little congregation alone raised the half of it, along with its usual gifts, and this without bazaars or fairs.

The following is an example of a *spiritual* victory: Four years ago my congregation was still so destitute that it had no church council; we did have two women and one man who said they would undertake this service, but we still needed another man of a given age to constitute the legal minimum quorum. Then came "Church Week," and because of this week came one of those men whom

we thought we would never again see in the church—a piano tuner. He was so gripped by the Word that since that evening he has not missed a service (except in the holidays). He is now a member of the church council and along with his colleagues stands faithfully by the pastor. Last year we had the joy of confirming six boys and girls (my congregation is so small that some years we have no candidates for confirmation at all); despite all sorts of difficulties and temptations they have remained true to the church and participate decisively in the life of the congregation. On the whole lay participation plays a great role in my congregation. House visitation is undertaken by the laity, the Sunday school is led by lay adults, a weekly Bible study in two sections soon combined to form a close-knit prayer circle; once a quarter we all spend a Sunday together, alternating between a social gathering for the strengthening of our human relationships and a general discussion of some burning problem, for which preparation has been made by means of questionnaires, such as the Jewish question, Christian education, Christian witness.

Please do not think that the writer of this report wants to weave himself a laurel wreath here to show what he has achieved! My position as director of Inner Missions unfortunately leaves me with very little time for my congregation. I can, however, testify that God stands faithfully by those who are small and weak. My congregation has indeed helped me more than I ever helped it, and I thank it for this with all my heart.

But I hear another more serious objection from readers: Is there not, in such a small congregation, the danger of spiritual "inbreeding?"—It is true, we are aware of this danger. The small flock is more exposed than are the large congregations to the temptation to live only for itself and to seek only its own edification.

In order to combat this temptation, however, the Lord of the Church gave my congregation a "sisterhood" (Fraternité) five years ago, consisting of three sisters from the "Communauté de Grandchamp." They live in a small flat in the middle of town. One of them works in one of the most loathsome factories in Saint-Ouen and earns enough to support the small community. Another earns an additional amount by doing housework, while the third stays in the Fraternité so as to be at the disposal of all those who need her. We are often asked: "Now, just what

do the sisters do?" To which I could almost say: Nothing—nothing except to pray and to be there!

In the sisters' flat there is a family chapel, and I can testify that the regular hourly prayers that take place there have visibly caused new strength to flow into my congregation. The simple fact that the sisters "are there" has opened new doors to the gospel. I am here thinking of more than the human ties which have begun in the factory and continued in the Fraternité at supper and afterwards at evening prayers. A short while ago a North-African working woman suggested to one of the sisters that she should function as a "taleb" (letter writer) in a workmen's bar, which is of course not practicable, but is none-the-less symptomatic of the needs of this neighbourhood. I am thinking too of the sister who does the ironing every Friday in one household, when women from the neighborhood gather to gossip over a cup of coffee; often the sister can do nothing but listen, carry on ironing, and bring to the Lord in quiet prayer all that is touched on there, the lovely and the unlovely. Now and again she has an opportunity to say something about the will and the grace of this unknown and misunderstood God. In an age when the classic missionary campaigns are no longer effective this loving "being there" is probably the only possibility left to us to proclaim the name of the Lord.

Certainly this "being there" is often very wearing on the nerves. There is so much to suffer and to bear with others that it almost crushes one. Thank God the chapel is there then. The sisters say to me over and over again: "We should be lost without our chapel." God alone knows what will come out of all these contacts. It is a symbol which points my congregation to new ways and gives us fresh courage. A woman, who until then had been afraid to speak of her Lord, suddenly discovered that in a conversation at the butcher's a "witness" simply slipped out. Later she came and said: "I don't know how it happened. I only know that it has become quite easy for me now to speak about my faith!"

This sudden change is the greatest achievement of my congregation during the past year. Sufficient has already been said about the practical atheism of our people; after fourteen years' activity in the workers' suburbs of Paris I am myself convinced that at least 90 per cent of the French people are completely

indifferent to Christianity. Twice in the last month, however, we have been able to experience how young people entered into contact with us "by chance," and then assured us that for years now they had entertained the desire someday really to get to know the gospel. Because there are such people, my congregation must be a witnessing congregation. Even where it is rejected, it must bear witness to the Lord, so that at the Last Judgement God will not have to say: "Do you see that man there? He lived at your doorstep; he sought my Word, but did not find the courage to cross your threshold. And you did not see him; you never crossed his threshold!"

Pray, brethern, that my congregation may become a missionary congregation!

ALBERT GREINER

Czechoslovakia

Conrad Cordatus, the Reformer of Central Slovakia

RELATIVELY LITTLE RESEARCH has been done on the Reformation period in Slovakia, and yet the beginnings of the Reformation in Slovakia contain a great deal of interest. One example of this is the Reformer of central Slovakia, Conrad Cordatus. The Reformation activities of Cordatus in central Slovakia are in general well-known. Nevertheless, our Czechoslovak historical literature has up till now omitted the most important things about him. It is well-known that Cordatus helped to spread the Reformation in central Slovakia; but that it was he who was the actual author of Luther's *Table Talks*, that it was he who carried on a great theological controversy over the necessity of good works for redemption, and that he was one of the first superintendents in Germany: these things have gone unnoticed up till now, i.e. have been insufficiently appreciated in our Czechoslovak literature.

In what follows I should like to present the results of my studies. When working on Luther, I turned my attention to Cordatus when I noticed that the name of the author of the *Table Talks* was identical with that of the Reformer of central Slovakia. A short

study convinced me of the surprising, and as yet little known fact, that both are one and the same person.

Cordatus' Activity Before his Arrival in Slovakia

Cordatus was born in 1476. From Melanchthon's preface to Cordatus' *Postille* (1554) we learn that he studied theology in Vienna from 1501-1508; his foremost teacher was Konrad Celtis. Furthermore, Melanchthon tells us that Cordatus went to Ferrara where he particularly studied Thomas Aquinas and Gerson; here he earned his doctorate in theology. Later (perhaps 1508-09) he was in Rome, according to his notes on Luther's *Table Talks*. Here he listened to the preaching of the Augustinian monk Agidius, who incited the Romans against Pope Julius II and exhorted them to attack the Engelsburg; here he saw how the vanquished Pope had ordered all the doors and windows bearing the coat of arms of his predecessor, Alexander VI, to be torn off.

In 1518 Cordatus arrived in Buda, where he held an office which paid him 200 Hungarian guilders a year according to his own estimations. After Cordatus joined the Reformation movement in 1517 he was dismissed and imprisoned for quite a long time, but was finally again set free.

Cordatus' Reformation Activities in Central Czechoslovakia

Further traces of Cordatus take us to Czechoslovakia already. The exact date of his arrival in Slovakia is as yet unknown to us. However, it is a fact that already in the Spring of 1522 the Reformation had taken hold in the mining villages and that the main propagator was this Cordatus. This we learn from a letter which "Bartholomeus Frankfordinus, Pannonius" wrote from Chemnitz on 19.5.1522 to his friend, the city notary "Georgio Bartholomeo de Eisker." In this letter Frankfordinus informed Eisker that "the monarch held a Reichstag in Nürnberg. Present is our Luther who was ordered to attend; may the Lord Jesus graciously give him aid, since he steadfastly proclaims the Lord's name." Furthermore, he asks Eisker in this letter to greet "our Conrad, if he is there (*Conradum nostrum, si apud vos est...*), since he was to have gone to Chemnitz in the meantime. Already at this time Cordatus

traveled through the mining villages as a preacher of the Reformation. The conditions for the spread of the Reformation were especially good here, since this region belonged as dowry to Queen Maria, who from the very beginning favored the Reformation.

In 1523, Queen Maria called Cordatus to be her court preacher at Buda. Originally she had planned to call Luther's friend Paul Speratus; but she did not succeed. So Maria called Cordatus to fill this vacant position in 1523. He had not been in Buda long before he vehemently attacked the Pope and the cardinals in a sermon before the court. Maria was forced to dismiss him and so he went to Wittenberg.

Cordatus' First Stay with Luther

On June 19th, 1524 Cordatus matriculated as a student at the University of Wittenberg. His entry in the register reads: "Conradus Cordatus de Weisskirchn." Here he heard lectures by Luther, whose energetic character appealed to him. It appears that Luther also liked him. This explains how he became a guest in Luther's house at that time. Luther even offered him financial assistance for his studies. According to an item in the *Table Talks*, Luther once said to him: "Cordatus, if you should happen to run out of money, I have a few old goblets here." Nevertheless, Cordatus did not stay very long in Wittenberg; he was drawn back to Slovakia.

Cordatus' Return to Slovakia and the Miners' Revolts in the Years 1525-1526

In the Spring of 1525 Cordatus returned to our mining villages from Wittenberg. Kremnitz appears to have been the center of his activities. Johann Cressling, who was formerly pastor of St. George's church in Buda, helped him to spread the Reformation in the mining villages. This was a very tense period. In the villages the miners demanded that they be paid on the same scale as before. It is probable that Cordatus also played a part in this situation. This is indirectly proven by a letter sent by the miners of Neusohl to the miners of Hodrus and the city council of Schemnitz. From this letter we can see that the writer (was it Cordatus, who shortly before returned from Wittenberg?) informed the miners concerning Luther's attitude towards the revolts of the peasants in Germany. According to this letter, the miners were not

to use force in order to secure their demands. However, if they were attacked, they should defend themselves, and in such circumstances they could certainly count on help from the Neusohl miners. In any case we can certainly count on the fact that Cordatus did not react negatively to the demands of the miners. Cordatus was so well loved by them that even the Neusohl miners, at the request of the Kremnitz miners, sent a letter to Esztergom urging that Cordatus be freed from prison. The arrest of Cordatus and Cressling was occasioned by a petition of the Catholic priest at Neusohl, Nicolaus of Sabinov. We can only understand the danger which these preachers faced when we recall that their arrest took place during the Reichstag at Rakos, which stated in the fourth chapter of its declaration "*Lutherani omnes comburantur.*" Both stood under pain of death. The Archbishop of Esztergom, Ladislav Zelkán, wrote a letter from Buda to Pastor Nicolaus on June 21, 1525, one day before the end of the Reichstag, stating that he should immediately travel to Buda along with the pastors at Kremnitz and Altsohl in order to testify concerning the heretical teaching of Conrad Cordatus and Johann Cressling. At the time these two were in prison at Buda. Perhaps it was due to the intervention of Queen Maria that the two preachers were not burned at the stake. At any rate, they remained in prison. At the same time, as Melancthon reports, Cordatus' property, valued at around 400 Hungarian guilders, was confiscated. Luther, Bugenhagen and Melancthon reported something similar concerning Cordatus when they recommended him as Superintendent in Stendal; "he was preaching the gospel in a congregation (they are probably thinking here of Kremnitz) in Pannonia (i.e. in Slovakia) when tyrannical bishops threw him in prison, appropriated his entire possessions and threatened him with death, if he would not refrain from preaching the gospel."

When news of Cordatus' and Cressling's imprisonment reached Kremnitz, the city council immediately sent messengers to Buda requesting the release of the two reformers. Since this attempt was unsuccessful, the council sent two further messengers in August (Dionysius Schneider and Peter Ungernfeindth). On August 16, 1525, these sent the following report back to Kremnitz: "The pastors are still in prison, but it is not too severe. Their case has been postponed until

the arrival of the Bishop of Esztergom himself." Cordatus' friend, the city attorney of Kremnitz, twice traveled to Buda in order to plead the cause of the prisoners. Towards the end of the year, the two prisoners were transferred from Buda to Esztergom, where the imprisonment appears to have been much worse. Melancthon, indeed, was referring to this period of imprisonment when he wrote that Cordatus sat in a completely dark tower in which many snakes dwelt. After Christmas 1525 the Neusohl miners, under pressure from Kremnitz, also finally sent a letter to the Archbishop of Esztergom, in which they urged that Cordatus and Cressling be set free. According to this letter, Cordatus and Cressling were pastors in Kremnitz ("*... qui olim verbi Dei ministri fuerunt apud illos...*").

Opinions vary as to how Cordatus finally obtained his freedom. According to one view he was freed by Queen Maria, which could accord with Luther's statement that he was freed "after his innocence was proven." Melancthon, in contrast, wrote that a sympathetic warder helped him to gain his freedom soon after the end of the trial. In any case, it is certain that Cordatus spent three quarters of a year in prison. In one of his sermons he wrote "I was imprisoned for thirty-eight weeks in Hungary." Therefore, if he was arrested on May 15, 1525, then we can assume that he was freed from prison towards the beginning of February 1526.

Probably Cordatus returned to Wittenberg, where he arrived sometime in the Summer of 1526. On November 1, 1526, Luther, having received the good tidings that Queen Maria was loyal to the Gospel, dedicated an interpretation of four psalms to her following the death of her husband in the battle of Mohács. From this it is generally recognized that it was Cordatus who informed Luther about Maria's position regarding the Gospel.

Cordatus in Liegnitz

Perhaps already at the beginning of August Cordatus, upon Luther's recommendation, went to Liegnitz where Duke Friedrich II sought professors for his newly founded university. Here a difficult field of labor awaited Cordatus. Liegnitz was the center of the Schwenckfeld movement. He was frequently involved in controversies with Schwenckfeld so that he wrote a sad letter to Luther in November. However, Luther sought to

encourage him in a letter of November 28: "You must stick it out." In January 1527 Cordatus again complained to Luther. The difficulties had obviously become even greater. Thereupon Luther counseled him to leave Liegnitz, which he did in April 1527.

Cordatus' Return to Hungary

At this time Cordatus received a call to a pastorate from Queen Maria (perhaps the position of the former Court chaplain Henckel). However, it was not meant that Cordatus should remain for ever in Hungary. As a result of Ferdinand's mandate of August 20, 1527, which forbade the teaching of Luther's doctrines in Hungary, he was again forced to leave Hungary. We next hear of him in Joachimstal, where he wrote in February 1528 informing Luther of his return from Hungary. On March 6 Luther sent for him to come to Wittenberg: "Among us you will certainly find a better and more friendly environment than you did there. So, make up your mind. You and your wife can come to us until Christ makes other provisions for you." In this letter Luther mentions the widow of Cordatus' brother who was living in Wittenberg. The fact that here for the first time we hear of Cordatus' wife (later Luther wrote in a letter "Greet your Christine") supports the assumption that Cordatus at 51 married her during his trip to Hungary. Perhaps she even came from central Slovakia.

Cordatus Again with Luther

Cordatus accepted Luther's invitation. He traveled to Wittenberg by way of Jena, where he presumably met with Melanchthon. Apparently he lived with his wife in Luther's house. Here around Luther's table a great many conversations took place during which he apparently told the whole story of his difficult life. We therefore have good reason to assume that Luther was well informed about central Slovakia. A great many discussions about religion were carried on by Luther's friends in his house. Cordatus was the first to hit upon the idea of writing them down in a notebook, therefore he was the first to sketch Luther's *Table Talks*; the others (V. Dietrich, Lauterbach, Mathesius, Aurifaber) followed after him. He himself wrote regarding the *Table Talks*: "I did indeed think it a little presumptuous to write down everything which I had heard at my

desk, but the necessity for sketching Luther's talks overcame my sense of shame. The Doctor never said anything implying that my acts displeased him. In fact I prepared the way for others, especially for Veit Dietrich and Johann Schlagenhaufen, who took courage to do the same. I combined their short reports with my own and many have thanked me for this. I write this because I have been attacked by Philipp's foolish ideas." For Melanchthon was not pleased with the fact that Cordatus noted down everything that was said at table. Luther once said to Melanchthon: "You are able to express these things on paper but not in conversation." Cordatus noted this remark, which did not at all please Melanchthon, who demanded that Cordatus show him the notebook. Cordatus resisted but finally, after continual pressure from Melanchthon, he showed it to him, whereupon Melanchthon wrote the following distich: "*Omnia non prodest, Cordate, inscribere chartis. Sed quedam tacite dissimulare decet.*" (It is not right, Cordatus, to put everything down on paper. Certain things are better passed over in silence.)

Cordatus' Sojourn in Zwickau

After about a year Cordatus left Wittenberg in order to become pastor of St. Mary's Church in Zwickau. There a quarrel took place in March 1529 between Pastor Paul Lindenau and some of the city council members concerning the introduction of Saints' Days and the ringing of bells before a thunderstorm. After Lindenau resigned, Luther, in a letter to the Zwickau pastor Nicholas Hausmann, recommended Cordatus as Lindenau's successor because he was a good, learned and, up till now, fearless witness to the faith. Since the city council of Zwickau on March 7 requested Luther to recommend a pastor for this vacant position who would be "pious, capable and peace-loving," we can therefore assume that Luther recommended no-one else to them but Cordatus.

When Cordatus arrived in Zwickau on March 21, 1529, he carried with him a letter from Luther, addressed to the neighboring Zwickau pastor, in which Luther wrote: "Here you have a partner in your difficulties and one who will share your work, for Conrad Cordatus is without doubt a faithful and good man. I believe that you will not only be pleased with him but that he will be of use to the entire folk." From a further

letter of Luther's we discover that Hausmann really was pleased with Cordatus. However, the people of Zwickau were much less pleased with him. Already in his first sermon he attacked their petulance in regard to his predecessor, Pastor Lindenau, and immediately made them his enemies. Luther, however, did not regret this. He knew that the sectarian spirit of the "Zwickau prophets," who had played an important role there five years before, was still alive in Zwickau, therefore he encouraged Cordatus: "I am happy that these absolutely wild people have taken offence at you. However, conquer this world-evil and Satan with your patience and modesty." When Cordatus complained about the people of Zwickau in a later letter Luther comforted him: "Do not forget that this is the world."

All of his difficulties arose from the fact that Cordatus possessed a sharp nature. He really was a "Cordatus" (from the Latin "*cor*"—heart) who threw his whole heart into his work. We could also say he was a virtual hatchet against the sectarian tendencies which ruled in Zwickau. Luther himself tried to soften him a little: "Try instead to overcome them in a more kind manner. They are hard, and if we add our hardness to it, they will become that much worse. You know the old proverb, that two hard millstones do not grind well."

However, Cordatus not only experienced difficulties in Zwickau, there were also joys: he became a father; a son was born to the fifty-four year old man. From Luther's letter of January 3, 1530, we discover that no-one else but Luther himself was the child's god-father, so close was the relationship between Luther and Cordatus. When Luther sent the child a gift of money, Cordatus sent it back with thanks, whereupon Luther wrote: "God grant that I can in other ways be a real god-father to your son." Nevertheless this was not to be the case, for Cordatus' son died at the end of March.

But worse was still to come. After certain controversies the city council dismissed one of the pastors, Lorenz Sorau, in 1531 and called in his place Stanislaw Hoffmann. Luther protested against this on March 4th: the council is not lord of the congregation, it could not dismiss a preacher without the approval of the city pastor (Hausmann) and without the knowledge of the prince. Similarly, Cordatus also sharply attacked the council. In a letter addressed to all the

preachers in Zwickau, Luther urged them to support Hausmann and Cordatus in their struggle against the council. When the council, following negotiations with Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon in Torgau, continued to be obstinate, Hausmann resigned his pastorate in Zwickau in July 1531 and Cordatus followed suit shortly thereafter, undoubtedly upon Luther's advice. Sometime between July 10 and August 18, 1531, the two preachers came to Luther at Wittenberg, who greeted them with great joy and who is supposed to have said, according to a note of Cordatus: "If some-one were to give me 600 guilders, it would not make me as happy as I am now that you have returned to me and are well and are sitting with me."

Cordatus' Activity in Niemeck and his Controversy with Melanchthon

In the Summer of 1532 Cordatus, with Luther's help, became pastor at Niemeck, a small village not far from Wittenberg. The previous pastor there was George Witzel, who again deserted the Reformation and therefore had to give up his position. Here Cordatus worked until 1537 or perhaps 1540 under partially very great difficulties. He was very conscientious and thorough about his preaching and he suffered greatly over every sermon because he wanted it to be so very well prepared. Luther warned him about this once: "You seek praise and therefore you are being tempted." The result was that Cordatus' sermons were of a very high standard, so that his contemporaries named him one of the greatest preachers of the day (Dr. Förster told Luther that there were three men whose sermons went straight to his heart, Luther, Cordatus and Röer); and it was not by accident that Melanchthon, after Cordatus' death, published a volume of the latter's Niemeck sermons under the title "*Eine Deutsche Postille*," Nürnberg 1554.

Since Niemeck was not far from Wittenberg, Cordatus was a frequent guest in Luther's house and noted everything of importance that was discussed at the table. During this time in Niemeck a great theological controversy between Cordatus and Melanchthon occurred, which came to a head in August 1536. Basing his opinion upon a preliminary work by Melanchthon, Cruciger said in a lecture on I Timothy that good works are necessary for salvation (*bono opera necessaria sunt ad salutem*); without these

works there can be no salvation (*causa sine qua non*). Cordatus viewed this as a deviation from the most important doctrine of the Reformation, according to which salvation is not the fruit of our works but of God's grace. He went personally to Luther, then Dean of the Faculty, and raised the alarm in other places as well. In a letter of October 20, 1536, he wrote that it was necessary to take issue first with Cruciger (he disregarded Melanchthon as yet) and he challenged Luther to take a strong stand in this matter. Shortly thereafter Melanchthon wrote from Nürnberg to Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen assuring them that he taught only that which they also preached: "I have never wanted to deviate from your views but if I am suspected and condemned by certain people.... I would rather go anywhere else in this world." It was indeed not necessary that he leave Wittenberg, because Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen did not consider the matter as important as Cordatus did. Upon receipt of Melanchthon's letter Bugenhagen immediately declared from the pulpit that, though many people were of the opinion that a schism existed in the Wittenberg school, there was no schism as far as basic doctrine was concerned, but simply a difference of opinion as to its expression. When word of Bugenhagen's statement reached Cordatus in Niemeck he advised Luther not to be lenient in matters of faith; here one must be correct and strict. Or could there be a schism as far as expression is concerned, which is not at the same time a doctrinal schism? However, Luther did not regard this matter as so acute and desired that the whole controversy be brought to an end. Nothing was heard of the matter during the preparations for the negotiations at Smalcald. Nevertheless, in March 1537 Cordatus again raised the issue and demanded that Cruciger re-call his teachings. In vain Jonas sharply rejected his demand; Cordatus had so thrown body and soul into this controversy that he suffered from it both spiritually and physically and began to notice indications of heart trouble.

Nevertheless, Cordatus in his controversy with Melanchthon was to some extent vindicated by Luther. On the occasion of the doctoral dissertation of Peter Paladius on June 1, 1537, Luther, as Dean of the Faculty, settled the controversy as follows: the good works of a man who has been born anew are indeed "necessary," but it would be wrong to maintain that they are necessary "for

salvation." Melanchthon was satisfied with Luther's interpretation but Cordatus, who was also present at the dissertation, kept silent. The controversy between Cordatus and Melanchthon was thereby shelved.

Cordatus as Superintendent in Stendal

There has been no positive proof up till now for the assumption that Cordatus served a parish in Luther's home city of Eisleben from 1537-1540. On the other hand, it is certain that Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg called him to Stendal as superintendent in 1540 on the strength of a recommendation from Luther and Bugenhagen. He provided Cordatus with a salary of 200 guilders a year, a house and other appurtenances. Here he had to witness the immoral life of his pastors, who still behaved in a pre-Reformation manner. He had to withstand their sharp attacks and he had a difficult battle to fight in the realm of doctrinal matters. A certain Joachim Müller caused him the greatest difficulty. Following one exchange of letters, Cordatus addressed a second letter to Luther around Christmas 1544 which was full of complaints and in which he described the difficulties which Müller caused. Whereupon Luther answered: "I would write to him, if I knew what kind of a person he was, if he were a papist or if he belonged to us. But he is neither one nor the other.... Be patient, and do not answer his jeers." This controversy with Müller lasted until October 1545, when Cordatus triumphed in a sharp theological dispute. On October 27 Cordatus joyfully wrote to Melanchthon, with whom he had again renewed his friendship: "The matter is settled. Never in my whole life have I experienced such satisfaction in a matter of such significance" (he meant most likely the doctrine of justification).

Cordatus held his office in Stendal until February 1546 (the month in which Luther died). Then Elector Joachim II commissioned him as a Wittenberg professor to go to Frankfurt on the Oder, and conduct the doctrinal examinations of J. Ludec and A. Musculus. The seventy year old Cordatus caught a cold during the trip and is reported to have died two miles from Spandau. However, his grave is unknown to us.

Cordatus and Luther

It is somehow symbolic that Cordatus and Luther died at about the same time. Together

they walked through life and together they died. Luther liked Cordatus from their very first meeting in Wittenberg in 1524; perhaps it was because they both were of a similar nature. In a letter of December 3, 1544, Luther wrote to him: "You are not the least among my very best friends." According to old records Luther is supposed to have once said: "If I had to go through fire, Doctor Pomeranus (Bugenhagen) would accompany me up to the fire but Cordatus would go through it with me." Cordatus himself was conscious of their relationship and called himself and Hausmann Luther's closest friends. The fact that Cordatus and his family lived for a long time in Luther's house and that Luther was the god-father of his son testifies to this close relationship. We possess twenty-one letters which Luther wrote to Cordatus (how many more have not been preserved!) in which Luther requested him, as one of his very best friends, to pray for him. All of this testifies to the very close relationship between the two men.

Cordatus' Significance for the Reformation throughout the World

Cordatus is of more than minor significance for the Reformation as a whole. Wrumpel-meyer is right in saying that in the development of his own theological system Cordatus was no Luther, and in the area of scholarship he was no Melancthon. On the other hand, his share in spreading the doctrines of the Reformation and in defending them against all deviations, even when these originated with Melancthon, is of equal significance. The esteem in which Luther held him is shown by one of Luther's statements in the *Table Talks*: "If I were to die now, I would leave behind three theologians, Bugenhagen, Brenz and Cordatus." Others also had a high regard for Cordatus. Doctor Cruciger, who was at that time Rector of the university, counted him at the end of 1546 among the greatest men whom God had called home during that year.

Cordatus' Birth-place and his Significance for Slovakia

According to the Wittenberg matriculation book Cordatus came from Weissenkirchen. Scholars have sought this village in various countries. Until recently this was assumed to be Weissenkirchen in lower Austria; however, since the recent discovery of an entry in Cordatus' own hand stating that he came from Leonbach in the parish of Weissenkirchen and, moreover, in the country near the river Enns, it is certain that his place of birth was somewhere in Upper Austria in the vicinity of Linz and Steyr. Thus the assumption of some historians that Cordatus came from an old Hussite family could be right.

Of what significance was Cordatus in Slovakia, now that we have ascertained that his background was not Slovak but Austrian? A counter-question: does the fact that Tranoscius also was not of Slovak but of Schlessian background detract from his significance for us in Slovakia? Not in the least! Although Cordatus was not one of us by birth, his work among our people, both as the first Reformer in central Slovakia and as a pastor in Kremnitz, is of particular significance for us. For this meant both that Slovakia had a direct contact with Wittenberg during the early years of the Reformation as well as that the former Kremnitz pastor became one of the main figures of the Reformation alongside Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen and Jonas. It is only to be regretted that so little attention has been paid to this fact until now. We knew about Cordatus' work in Slovakia, but on the whole we did not know much about his activities with Luther in Germany. Again, the German historians knew about his activities in Germany and also his work in Ofen but nowhere during the course of my studies have I encountered evidence that the German historians knew anything about his work in Slovakia. It would be desirable if more light could be shed upon Cordatus' life both among us and in Germany.

IGOR KISS

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Church Struggle in Germany

BIBLIOGRAPHIE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KIRCHENKAMPFES 1933/1945. By Otto Diehn. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1958. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes*, Vol. 1.

NATIONALSOZIALISMUS UND EVANGELISCHE KIRCHEN IM WARTHEGAU. By Paul Gürtler. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1958. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes*, Vol. 2.

DIE EVANGELISCHEN JUGENDVERBÄNDE WÜRTTEMBERGS UND DIE HITLER-JUGEND 1933/1934. By Dieter Freiherr von Lersner. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1958. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes*, Vol. 4.

In the March 1960 issue of LUTHERAN WORLD, page 428, Claus Hinrich Feilcke reported on the goals and tasks of the commission appointed by the council of the EKD to study the history of the Church Struggle. He made reference to the series of writings "*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes*," which is being published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. Six volumes are already available.

The first volume, which was compiled by OTTO DIEHN, contains a bibliography on the history of the Church Struggle with a foreword by the editors, Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, Heinz Brunotte and Ernst Wolf. Otto Diehn, who served as research director for the Commission on the History of the Church Struggle, was given the task of preparing as complete a bibliography as possible of the books on the Protestant Church Struggle which have appeared both in Germany and abroad. The number of titles collected was 5,566, including not only individual books and writings but also essays in newspapers and journals and even mimeographed papers and minutes of meetings.

A systematic classification of contents follows the two forewords, then a list of abbreviations is given which makes it much easier to identify the titles which are later cited. The register of individual publications follows on page 193 and the book concludes with an alphabetical index of authors.

The systematic classification runs from A to Q, thus forming sixteen main divisions: general surveys, a general bibliography, preliminary history, the history of the Catholic church before 1933, non-church religious movements and groups, political affairs of significance for the church, culture religion, political opposition to the Third Reich, important works on the history of the Catholic church after 1933, the history of the Protestant church from 1933-1945, arranged by years and by territorial churches, with emphasis on persecuted church groups, the effect of church projects and organisations, congregational life, the training and education of future generations, Christian art, literature on prayer and liturgics, as well as sermons and collections of sermons.

Under the systematic treatment of the problems, the controversies with the National Socialist state are considered from various perspectives. Inter-church problems follow. Finally there are treatments of the church and German exiles, Austria and occupied territories, a section on the ecumenical movement, and one on the church and the Jewish problem.

The field covered is very wide. The author was faced with the question as to how the compilation should be arranged. Various approaches could be taken in certain sections. Closer examination of the way in which the individual sections are put together shows that the method used was a well-considered and meaningful one. At any rate, no-one working on the history of the Church Struggle can afford to ignore this bibliography by Otto Diehn but will find it of great value in conducting research on the pertinent writings which appeared at that time. A few interpretations of the Church Struggle which were written in the years 1945-50 are also included, so that some writings in historical retrospect are already available. When we consider that the Church Struggle prompted a mass of publications, most of which appeared towards the very beginning and were spread from one part of the Reich to the other, and when we further consider that many of these writings were published illegally and were confiscated immediately after their publication so that few copies remained, then we must be thankful that such a wealth of source material on the history of the Church Struggle is still available for following generations.

During the course of the war and during the years which followed much has been destroyed. Many individual writings are only available in a limited number of copies and it took a great deal of careful and tiring work to produce this compilation in the form which lies before us.

As far as its completeness is concerned, undoubtedly many publications will be discovered in the course of time. One should perhaps have included or at least made reference to church periodicals. These also from time to time carried "reports" and controversies. The literature on sermons which is certainly also of importance for the history of the Church Struggle has yet to be expanded. Finally, it might be good were the systematic classification of contents to be provided with page numbers. This might make it easier to find the various groupings.

A revision of this book will be necessary and possible within a few years but this compilation by Otto Diehn will be gratefully received, especially for its correct and accurate information concerning the authors and dates of the source material. Should it be felt that too much material is covered, for example that even works from the Catholic church before and after 1933 are included, then it must be remembered that these voices must also be heard for purposes of comparison with what occurred in the Protestant church and in order to interpret the conduct of the state in respect to the Christian church. This bibliography on the history of the Church Struggle from 1933-1945 is a good and indispensable basis for research on this history which contains many controversial points and which can only be clarified through the contemporary statements and actions.

The second volume to appear in the "*Arbeiten des Kirchenkampfes*" is PAUL GÜRTLER's "*Nationalsozialismus und evangelische Kirchen im Warthegau*." This is the first descriptive work in the series and it is based on sources which were made available from the files of the Evangelical *Oberkirchenrat* in Berlin and other churches. The government archives of the third Reich, in so far as they survived the war, were not as yet available. Following an introduction this work describes the struggle over the legal form of the church in Warthegau. Then follows a report on the so-called "Thirteen Points" on the relationships between church and state issued by the Federal Governor in the Summer of 1940, and finally a section on the separation of

church and state in the ideological state of National-Socialism. The author limits himself to the history of this struggle; he has provided an appendix containing documents and an index of source materials and relevant literature. The addition of a map of Warthegau, Danzig and West Preussen serves a good purpose. This work is not intended as a complete history of the Evangelical church in Posen and in the later Warthegau, nor is it a total history of the churches which were directed by men such as Blau and Kleindienst from Posen and Litzmannstadt. However, it shows very clearly how these men struggled to make the necessary decisions for their churches during the years 1939-1945. Furthermore, it clearly shows that the goal of the Nazi state, which was disguised as "separation of church and state," was really the complete suppression of the Protestant church and Christianity as such and how Warthegau serves as an example of the first major attempt in this direction. In this presentation of events it is important that the church's attitude be made known and that it be shown how the church authorities in Berlin (the Chancellery of the German Evangelical Church and the Evangelical *Oberkirchenrat* of the Prussian Union and even the council of the clergy) must have been aware of the real intentions of the Nazi rulers. This presentation also shows how the ministry for religious affairs was repressed under Kerrl. It must be emphasised that almost every statement of significance and every conclusion is substantiated by references to official minutes or other proofs. Görtler's presentation makes an attempt to clearly portray the events which occurred and does not indulge in any kind of assumptions or suppositions. It also gives a wide variety of insights into the history of the idea of the separation of church and state and the legal forms which this took. This increases the significance of this history of the church in Warthegau.

During the war this struggle went relatively unnoticed by many groups within the church, much was not even known. We can be grateful that light has finally been shed upon these events and also that these important documents have been published. Those who read this work by Görtler will be shaken and will realise that it is difficult for the church as a body to maintain her position in this world if the state does not exercise tolerance. On the other hand, it shows how the power of

the church takes effect even in a controversy over the satisfactory solution of its legal status, and this would even be more clearly shown if we could learn even more about the inner life of the church and its proclamation during this time, as well as about the willingness of the congregations to make sacrifices.

Among the many distressing events of 1933 belongs the so-called incorporation of the Evangelical Youth Group into the Hitler Youth, which became an accomplished fact by the beginning of 1934. DIETER FREIHERR VON LERSNER reports on these events as they occurred in Württemberg. He writes of the methods and activities of the Evangelical Youth Groups in Württemberg at the beginning of the Thirties, introduces the reader to the events of 1933 by depicting individual experiences and finally portrays the relationship between the Hitler Youth and the Evangelical Youth Group, by the example of the deanery of Schorndorf. The Youth Charter, and a report on the months during which incorporation took place, follow. The compromise between Baldur von Schirach and Ludwig Müller in December 19, 1933 is added in an appendix. The book is based on sources which are available from the Evangelical *Oberkirchenrat* in Stuttgart and it gives a good insight into the course of events in this area of church life.

A few questions must be raised. In what way were the Evangelical Youth Groups "challenged" by the Hitler Youth (page 17)? Did this happen through special negotiations or through the wishes of individuals or through written invitations?

Could the leadership of the Evangelical Youth Groups and the Evangelical *Oberkirchenrat* in Stuttgart already in 1933 recognize the true goals and intentions of the Hitler Youth and, on a larger scale, National Socialism, in regard to its attitude towards Christianity? To be sure, the famous essay by Dr. Sasse had already been published in the 1932 year book of the Evangelical Church in Germany. Beyond this, there were already at that time enough voices who warned against a "Trojan horse" or against too trusting an attitude towards National Socialism, but at that time things varied greatly from one district to another and there was no visible unity between the various levels of leadership. The local leadership often acted independently and hastily. Perhaps, however, secret instructions existed which aimed at

definite goals. It must also be remembered that there were Evangelical Youth groups who allowed themselves to be deceived and who were intoxicated by their enthusiasm for the "resurgence of the German nation." The fact that certain responsible men in the leadership of the Evangelical Youth Groups allowed themselves to be blinded certainly also played a role. The way in which the youth and individuals were caught up in the spirit of the times was visible and yet many people underestimated the dangers which were involved. Despite a number of unanswered questions this study by Von Lersner is an important contribution to the history of those years.

NIKLOT BESTE

Diagnosis of the Congregation

RELIGION OHNE ENTSCHEIDUNG. By Hans-Otto Wölber. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1959. 268 pp.

SOZIOLOGIE DER KIRCHENGEMEINDE. Ed. by D. Goldschmidt, F. Greiner and H. Schelsky. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1959. 256 pp.

DIE KIRCHENTREUEN. By Reinhard Köster. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1959. 117 pp.

DIE KIRCHENGEMEINDE IN SOZIOLOGISCHER SICHT. WEG UND ZIEL EMPIRISCHER FORSCHUNGEN. By Justus Freytag. Furche Verlag, Hamburg, 1959. 128 pp.

SOZIOLOGIE DER PFARREI. WEGE ZUR UNTERSUCHUNG. By Norbert Greinacher. Alsatia-Verlag, Colmar-Freiburg, 1955. 306 pp.

PFARRGEMEINDE UND GROSSSTADT. DIE AUSDEHNUNG DER PFARREIEN UND DIE GEGENSÄTZE DES APOSTOLATS IN DEN STÄDTEN. By Paul Winninger. (Original title: *Construire des Eglises*. Paris, 1957. German transl. by Willi Lang.) Alsatia Verlag, Colmar-Freiburg, 1959. 174 pp.

URBAN CHURCH PLANNING. THE CHURCH DISCOVERS ITS COMMUNITY. By Walter Kloetzli and Arthur Hillman. Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, 1958. 186 pp.

In the well-known American sociological study, *"The Organization Man,"* the author, WILLIAM H. WHYTE, writes among other things about a pastor who was faced with the task of organizing a congregation among people of a variety of religious backgrounds in a very quickly growing housing area: "He wanted a *useful* church, and to emphasise theological points, he felt, was to emphasise what is not of first importance and at the price of provoking dissension. 'We try not to offend anybody,' he explained."¹

This short description of the situation involves a very definite way of looking at the relationship between church and society, in fact it even involves something like the practical application of a very definite theory of the sociology of religion. The people in a new housing area, so it is pre-supposed, no longer have a relationship to the church as instituted by God, through which they experience God's truth in their lives. To be sure, however, they do have certain needs, or at least needs which they themselves understand as religious needs, thus it seems sensible to erect an organization concerned with meeting these needs. This organization is the congregation. This illustration comes from the United States but it is equally applicable to the large Protestant folk-churches of Europe, whose situation differs from the American churches only in that the various historical components interact in a different way and produce a different external picture. The investigation of this picture is the task of a sociology of the congregation which operates essentially with empirical methods. A short time ago JUSTUS FREYTAG reported on the present state of the sociology of the congregation and the newest works in this field in this journal.² During the past year Freytag presented a study on the specific methods, problems and the opportunities for the church in this, in many respects, new science. His study is based on available investigations conducted above all in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, North America and Germany. He first of all delineates the boundaries between the congregation and the local society, then discusses the forms of participation in the congregation and finally deals with the possible and actual functions of the congregation in society. Freytag is naturally motivated by a concern for a

"deep-going reform of the organizational structure" of the church. It is extraordinary, and could almost be taken as a sign of divine providence, that a study of this kind appears at the very moment when ecumenical discussions make it increasingly clear that the relationship between church and world is not decided on the so-called highest level but in the narrower realm of daily life which we, in keeping with the tradition, have described by the word "congregation." This is where the missionary commission of the church has its actual place in life. It is no accident that the Catholic church's reflections on its missionary commission in the *Actio Catholica* provided the first and most decisive impulse, at least on the Catholic side, for such studies. Foremost among them is the book by H. GODIN and Y. DANIEL *La France, Pays de Mission?*, which since its appearance in 1943 has been re-published several times.

If it is possible today to make use of a relatively comprehensive apparatus for such studies, including improved methods of conducting and interpreting surveys, tests, questionnaires, interviews and group discussions among other things, and if, furthermore, by no means only church circles (in Germany, Protestant church circles do not even play an important role) but also public opinion institutes and sociological seminars conduct such studies, then this is largely due to the fact that the religious problem is regarded as an unsolved one even by those outside of the church. One of the conclusions of a study by WÖLBER is: "A form of Christianity exists which can no longer be institutionalized according to the traditional pattern"; "the church, religion, the Bible as God's word, etc. are accorded a relatively great significance." Yet the individual has no relationship to a specific church, that is, he does not know how to practise this Christianity. This gives the "church in-between" a specifically "tragic" character (Wölber). It places the secular structures of public life, those of education, culture and politics, in a peculiar dilemma in regard to the religious problem. The success which GERHARD SZCESNY's book *"Zukunft des Glaubens"* (Munich 1958) had in Germany is symptomatic of this. It must be said that the illustration cited by Whyte at any rate represents one approach to the problem; whether we can agree with it or not is not the question under discussion here. One thing is sure,

¹ William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man*, page 406.

² See LW/VI/2 (December 1959) pp. 307 ff.

there is a dearth of practical solutions on the European scene. The church does not even comprehend those who sincerely want to be Christians; therefore, the results of these studies, which are certainly negative in many respects, should not be rejected by those who love the church, irrespective of the origin of these studies.

On the other hand, however, even the work by Wölber shows that the folk-church is a reality of surprising breadth, whether it also has depth is a very important question, and the title *Religion ohne Entscheidung* seems to imply a negative answer to this question. But here now a further question must be raised, to what extent can a public opinion study measure the depths of religiosity of a group?

Among the books mentioned here, the handbook edited by GOLDSCHMIDT, GREINER AND SCHELSKY *Die Soziologie der Kirchengemeinde* provides extensive information for anyone who wants to inform himself about the topics which have been discussed and the essential literature which has been published in this field in the last few years. Catholics and Protestants alike have participated in this study which even includes a short but comprehensive report on a Jewish diaspora congregation written by MAURICE FREEDMAN of the London School of Economics.

Among the available material on the Protestant congregation, the analysis of the circle of the *Kirchentreuen* ("faithful") within a North German big city congregation by REINHARD KÖSTER is certainly the most important study of all. The results of this monograph are also condensed in a mere ten pages in the handbook mentioned above. By the *Kirchentreuen* are meant those who seek to fulfil the norms of church life (attendance at worship, Holy Communion, etc.) to the maximum in contrast to those who are satisfied with a minimum. Köster rejects the term "*Kerngemeinde*" (core-congregation) and in actual fact there is no such thing as a "core" here. Here we find the "church in-between" reflected. If, on the one hand, the large mass of those estranged from the church evidences a great deal of respect for the church and for faith, something we would not expect, yet, on the other hand, those who participate in the life of the congregation evidence little knowledge or practice of the faith, apart from the mere act of participation itself. Churchmanship, in so far as it exists, rests for the most part not on an awareness of the purpose and mission of the church over against the

secular world into which the church has been sent, but on social motivations. Köster's picture is supplemented by the results of a comprehensive study on religiosity in Germany conducted by PETER BERGER in four congregations in Reutlingen. Two Americans, F. H. TENBRUCK and THOMAS LUCKMAN, have reported on this study in the handbook.

Naturally, there still remains the question as to just how representative these results really are. There certainly can be no doubt that they *are* to a great extent representative. Furthermore there can be no question that doubts are raised about a large part of our church and evangelistic practice by these studies. But it is just as certain that they need to be supplemented, indeed that their supplementation consist in this: that a much broader area of church and society be taken into consideration. Beyond this, such studies should enable our churches, their leaders, their ministry and all those who seriously want to be Christians to adopt an attitude to the present-day world which is more adequate to the church's mission. For such studies to be more than mere statistics or a re-statement in terms of a particular sociological scheme of reference of something which we have already known for some time now with varying degrees of accuracy, then the realities with which we are concerned here must above all be investigated by those in the various offices of the church who have to work with them. Of all those studies which are available to us today actually only one, apart from the surveys offered in the handbook by PAUL ZIEGER of the statistical office of the EKD, namely that of Wölber, which was initiated and prepared by the Youth Department of the EKD, resulted from the actual work of the church itself. Precisely the analyses of the congregation make clear that the congregation itself is to a great extent dependent upon factors over which it itself has no control. In fact, her order is not her own creation but has, for the most part, been superimposed from above. On the Protestant side studies of the various types of congregations and of the constitutions under which they operate are obviously lacking.

This apparently gives the congregations a feeling of futility, and to the question as to what should be done these sociological studies on Protestant congregations give only a few vague suggestions. One has the impression that this scepticism results less from

the insights won from the studies than it does from a lack of trust in one's own church.

Precisely at this point the two Catholic monographs which are mentioned here by NORBERT GREINACHER and PAUL WINNINGER differ essentially from their Protestant counterparts. These works are written directly for the service of the church; they make use of material which enables them to survey and to draw comparisons with relationships in non-German lands as well. They measure everything in the light of critical realism. The conclusions drawn from these studies are pertinent not only to pastoral counseling and individual counselors but also to the hierarchical structure of the church. "The only aim of our studies is to prepare the way for a timely and relevant ministry," writes Greinacher at the end of his *Soziologie der Pfarrei*, which furthermore does not offer empirical results but ways of investigation which are very carefully and methodically thought through. Moreover it is worthy of note that this sociology of the congregation which operates with very modern methods addresses itself not to the problem of whether or not the traditional parish work as such should be totally surrendered but to the problem of its adaptation to the contemporary situation. It is concerned with the division of this parish work into "humanly attainable units." "The present division (of the ministry of the church)... neither corresponds to the spirit of the Gospel nor is it missionary.

It perpetuates an outmoded situation and provokes offence." (Winninger)

In this situation it is especially regrettable as far as cooperation between the Lutheran churches is concerned, that such a nice little book as that of HILLMAN and KLOETZLI on the urban church is so little known outside the United States. This book is also no empirical analysis although the scientific studies which abound in America are thorough, but it does rest on preliminary studies mainly made available by the National Council of Churches in which the two authors, who are both in the City Church division of the NLC, to a great extent shared.

We are dealing here with an applied form of social research in the best sense of the word, whose methods could be adopted and further developed by a group of wide-awake Christians. This is the intention of this book with its wealth of material. It is probably impossible because of the way in which this book is written to translate it into a non-English language. However, its contents should sometime really be made the object of study by one of the large commissions of the LWF, since it could serve as a model for deliberations which could lead to a real international exchange of experience between our churches, one which could really help us, in contrast to much that we do which is of no help to us.

HANS BOLEWSKI

CORRESPONDENCE

Regarding the Nature of the Lutheran World Federation

Sir,

In the March issue of LUTHERAN WORLD, which I have finally received, I was unpleasantly surprised to read on page 397 that Prof. Brunner's ecclesiological paper evidently found no echo at Amsterdam. I find completely incomprehensible from the viewpoint of German Lutheranism Prof. Prenter's statement: "that the real direction of the LWF has always been towards pulpit and altar fellowship, not doctrinal unity."

—Even the Arnolshain Theses make it quite clear that Prof. Brunner cannot have meant uniformity by "unity" of doctrine. His whole concern is with the Magisterium. At the Luther conference in Berlin two months ago (The Word of God and Preaching) the question of the Magisterium was twice posed with great emphasis during the course of the discussion, especially its relationship to the spiritual perplexity resulting from the social changes in this sphere. The Brotherhood of St. Michael has raised this question in the "Credo ecclesiam." It seems to me that the best contribution which Lutheranism can make to the discussion of the nature of the church in the ecumenical movement lies at precisely this point: the meaningful supplementation of the emptied Anglican concept of the ministry. I was able to point this out in the Minneapolis number of the ELKZ, something which seems to me to be self-understood—certainly a result of our isolation (in the East). Therefore you will understand my astonishment at this report. Thence my request: Could you not sometime devote an entire issue of the LUTHERAN WORLD to this? The relevant key article by Prof. Brunner would already be available to us and there would only be the matter of securing relevant reactions. The same question comes up repeatedly in our Una Sancta talks with the Roman Catholics: where is the Protestant counterpart to the centralized, authoritative teaching which confronts us there?—We can only talk meaningfully about this when we have something better in mind and steer towards it. How far along are we with this in the LWF? The two meetings with Bishop Newbigin in Berlin have made distressingly clear how completely vague the situation is in the ECU. But it is just here that the question

must be raised as to what form Lutheran relationships shall take to the CSI if LWF is not concerned with "unity of teaching"!

It would be nice if you would not allow my request to go unheard, i.e. if the editorial committee were to act upon it. We are always so grateful to you for the comprehensive ecumenical news which each edition of your journal brings!

I do not expect a personal reply, but rather that the above request be honored! Meanwhile, warm greetings and God be with you!

E. Germany

WOLFGANG FUNK

The Ministry and the Ministry of Women

Sir,

I have only just read the November 1959 issue of the LUTHERAN WORLD which contains the essay by Peter Brunner: "The Ministry and the Ministry of Women." I had already heard of these views, since they are based on an address which Prof. Brunner gave at a conference of the bishops of the VELKD. Now that I have read it in extenso, I am, as you will well understand, more than a little disturbed that the LUTHERAN WORLD made this essay available without any comments from Lutheran public opinion. To be sure, Peter Brunner's position was not unknown to me since he was a member of a commission appointed by the confessing church during the church struggle to discuss the office of the "Vikarin." This commission met in successive sessions in the home of Ernst Wolf and was presided over by Julius Schniewind. I myself attended all these sessions from Berlin and am therefore well oriented in their progress. Peter Brunner and Heinrich Schlier together formed one wing which stood in strict antithesis to the opinion which the remaining members of the commission and we women theologians held, (members of the commission, among others, were Otto Michel, Hermann Diem, E. Käsemann). I was not surprised that Heinrich Schlier later became a Catholic, for this was a natural consequence of the concept of the ministry which he espoused.

The thing which disturbs me first of all about Peter Brunner's views is their exegetical basis. The reader can hardly trust his own eyes when on page 265 he encounters the

designations "from" and "for the sake of" (which are so elaborately placed in quotes in the text) which are used to define the relationship between man and woman; designations which are derived from Genesis 2 through an exegesis which runs strictly counter to the basic principles of all conscientious Biblical interpretation. The Creation account in Genesis 1 is simply discounted and is passed over as though it did not exist, a transgression against the canon which no theologian who wishes to be taken seriously should be guilty of. Old Testament research has long understood that the second account of Creation must be interpreted from an etiological perspective which has something different in mind. It does not attempt to answer the question which Peter Brunner raises in this connection. This "For the sake of the man" violates in actual fact the personal independence of the woman, the very thing which would be forbidden were one to refer back to Genesis 1. The explanation that we are dealing with an ontological statement which effects only the being, the nature, and not the historical existence changes nothing. This distinction between being and existence derives in my opinion from Platonic thought and stands in contradiction to the genuine Creation accounts in the Bible. Conclusions are then drawn from these ontological categories which are extremely relevant for the existence of woman, that is, for her historical existence.¹ I also consider the interpretation of Genesis 3 which is presented here to be thoroughly questionable. On the one hand, according to Brunner, the act first becomes "ripe for judgement" through the fall of Adam, but on the other hand, he rejects the statement of Bonhoeffer (prudently he fails to name the author): "Adam fell through Eve, Eve fell through Adam" and charges the woman with the main share of the guilt, this with the help of I Timothy 2¹²⁻¹⁴, without considering that here, measured by Romans 5^{12 ff}, a concept of guilt is applied which can only be regarded as Pauline in a secondary sense. Finally the category εἶναι ἐκ in I Corinthians 11⁸ is derived, as already acknowledged, from Gnostic speculation, as is the whole discussion in this controversy. What is dealt with here is a gradation of emanations, that is, a metaphysical order of being which cannot be based upon God's act

of salvation (an observation to which Ernst Käsemann has also already referred). All of these exegetical factors are very questionable and from these an *order* is derived in which woman is expressly put in her place, a place of dependence upon the man and of subordination to him. Thus the downright liberal-sounding authorization of the woman to hold all positions in the secular sphere, not excluding the office of judge, page 269, seems very strange. If one wants to speak of ὑποταγή, then in my opinion the consequences must also be drawn. According to Romans 13 the office of judge is a specific function of those in authority who exercise it in God's stead and its dignity rests on the fact that God himself is the real judge. This office should not conflict with the order of existence. Is the church afraid somehow? Is the church somewhat ashamed to involve itself in a scandal as far as secular affairs are concerned, a scandal which it does not spare its women, (women theologians,) in that it, without any sense of shame whatever, denies them every right to share in the ministry of the church? It, that is, Peter Brunner, only wins this argument by employing a concept of the ministry which is foreign to the New Testament; namely, an hierarchical principle which cannot be regarded as a genuinely Reformation principle. For the "he who hears you, hears me" (page 271) is valid only *in actu* and dare not be used as the basis for an hierarchical structure of the preaching ministry over the congregation. Furthermore this is not the intention of the statements from the Confessions which are applied here.

The basis of this entire line of argument is therefore extremely questionable, both as far as the method of exegesis is concerned as well as the underlying concept of the ministry. I would very much like to know how this discussion should be continued. In my opinion it might be possible that an Old Testament scholar, such as Gerhardt von Rad for instance, be asked to give an objective exegesis of Genesis 1-3. The questions which are involved here have already partially been raised in a past issue of your journal.² Would it not make sense to address oneself to these questions now and to publish a further article which would clear up the ambiguities in Brunner's essay!

Yours sincerely,

Schleswig

D.Dr. ANNA PAULSEN

¹ I would use the same arguments against the otherwise very creditable article by Heinrich Schlier on the concept κερφαλή. Th. WBNT, III page 678.

² Lutheran World IV/4 (March 1958), page 392.

THE CHURCH AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

Last April marked the four hundredth anniversary of Melanchthon's death. A special meeting of the leading European Melanchthon scholars was held in Wittenberg. It was one of the few meetings between researchers and Christians from both sides of the divided world. Added to this, it was held in the famous Luther center to which those in the West usually have little access. The Theology Department of the LWF held its second Luther research congress in Münster in August, also on Melanchthon. One cannot say that nothing has been happening. Many a good word was spoken, much worthwhile stimulation resulted. This shows that Melanchthon represents something of a key figure both in understanding the Reformation and the loss of Christian unity. However, research on him is a specialized science. The public, even the cultured public, hardly took notice of this year commemorating the author of the first Lutheran confessional standard, the Praeceptor Germaniae. It appears difficult for our generation to relate itself to his world, the world of Sixteenth Century Christian Humanism.

Certainly, this Humanism has found a persuasive and capable advocate in the person of the Austrian Catholic historian Friedrich Heer, who views the followers of Erasmus, among whom Melanchthon counted himself during his life-time, as the binding and common element which united the European spirit against the three waves of fear which waged against it: Mediterranean fear that the "Spaniards would put the squeeze on Italy . . . and would build an integralist bulwark in Rome itself," Calvin's fears and Luther's fears. In this historical setting Melanchthon appears as one who was to be sure fascinated by Luther's powerful personality, but at the same time also as the one who, in contrast to Luther and later Lutheran orthodoxy, maintained continuity with the past and openness to the future, and who precisely because of this polarity, could become the "legitimate founder of German Lutheranism as a cultural force." He was and remains a man of compromise, or rather as Heer prefers to call it the actual human embodiment of Mitdenken (empathy).

It is certainly not by chance that the term "Mitdenken" also appears in Melanchthon's version of the Augsburg Confession, precisely at the place which deals with the center of the church and faith, namely the Word and Sacrament, in the formulation consentire de doctrina evangelii et de administratione sacramentorum. Perhaps no other formulation has been so frequently repeated in the many inter-confessional discussions of this century as has this one; perhaps, however, at no other point have the limitations of inter-confessional conversations been so clearly visible as here. It is not alone important to reach a consensus; but what is important is that we agree that what God has instituted remain God's institution and that we be ready to draw the consequences therefrom for our lives and our churches. The church lives by the Sacrament, not by common Christian convictions or tasks. Those who do not understand the full import of this sentence inevitably end up

in the fabrica deorum, in man's attempt to fill the world with gods of all kinds, even such as have a Christian and ecclesiastical appearance.

Melanchthon did not inherit this sceptical insight from Humanism, but certainly from no-one other than Luther himself.

*In a remarkable way during the past weeks, the younger generation in the ecumenical movement, youth and students, have come up against these limits during the course of their two large conferences in Lausanne and Strassbourg. Those who read the reports of these two conferences alternate strangely between hope and concern. The fact that this generation has called for a common celebration of the Holy Communion fills one with hope. They could have found no better way of framing this challenge; they were motivated by the question of the nature of the church. There are many watchwords under which we go about the task of building the future, but there is only one commission *pro vita mundi*. There is only one God who gave his Son so that this world might be saved. If we do not live in the society which God has instituted and to which he has given his commission, then we live according to mottoes and ideologies. These younger Christians know that only in this way can their special mission make sense. This is a hopeful sign. But it is also a source of concern that Protestant activism believes that it can answer this question so easily as it apparently does. It is a cause of concern that, now that the church has ceased to function as a decoration of middle-class life, it is used as a decoration by a non-middle-class society which is more or less Christian. We perform the Holy Communion in order to give festive expression to the great experience of unity which we have. This is a cause of concern because, even if we would like to avoid the word "blasphemy," we can see here nothing less than a particularly dangerous wearing thin of authoritative piety which we have been experiencing for some time now, at least in Protestantism. Those who are concerned with ultimate authority know that this is not to be so cheaply had.*

But those who express this concern must hasten to add something else. If inter-communion becomes a sort of spiritual "adventure" at ecumenical conferences, particularly at youth conferences, then this is only because the discussions which the churches in the World Council have been conducting on this question scarcely seem to take into consideration the individual Christian or the congregation or that which motivates people throughout the world. And what then do the members of the congregation, and especially the younger members, really know about the actual status of the ecumenical discussions on inter-communion and how can they in their increasingly closer life and in their increasingly frequent contacts with people of all confessions, distinguish between that which is right and that which is not right, between that which is compatible with faithfulness to the Lord of the Church and that which is not, between that which one dare do and that which one dare not?

In view of the fact that answers to these many questions are lacking in present day Christendom, one can only say that we are living in a dark age in the history of the church, in a darkness which is not dispelled by the rhetorical gifts with which

many of today's theologians are adorned. Our concern for the church is motivated by much greater longing than ever before, but it is also characterized by a much greater mistrust of all attempts to present the church in a more agreeable and more modern form. We know that we can only think constructively about the life of world when our thinking takes place in the name of Him who gave his life for the world. We are free to serve this world only when he has taken from us our burden of guilt and fear. But precisely for this reason we must take care that that which governs and gives us freedom is not swamped by a flood of sociability. It must retain its authoritative character, it must again become authoritative for us, not as a result of an exceptional "adventure" at a conference, but through the continual prayers and efforts of all of us.

HANS BOLEWSKI

EDITORIAL NOTES

The picture on the first page of this issue commemorates the 400th anniversary of the death of Philipp Melanchthon, the great Reformer and author of the Augsburg Confession. The two essays devoted to Melanchthon were written by two church historians who have specialized in the period of the Reformation: Professor ROBERT STUPPERICH of the Theological Faculty of the University of Münster and Professor WILHELM MAURER of the Theological Faculty of the University of Erlangen. In our opinion it is certainly in keeping with the spirit of this great Reformer and Humanist to deal in this same issue with the question of unity from the perspective of discussions with Roman Catholic Theology. The two essays in this field were written by Professor KRISTEN E. SKYDSGAARD of the University of Copenhagen and Dr. GEORGE A. LINDBECK of Yale University.

In the section "Lutheran World Federation and the Ecumenical World" the reports are by the following: Mr. PAUL E. HOFFMAN, of the LWF Department of World Mission, Geneva, on the All-Africa Conference in Antsirabé, Madagascar; Pastor WALTER A. TROBISCH of the Collège Evangélique de Libamba, Cameroun, West Africa, on the question of Church Discipline in Africa; the Director of the Department, Dr. BENGT R. HOFFMAN, writes on Lutheran World Service; BERNHARD OHSE, the Press representative of the Berlin office of Innere Mission und Hilfswerk, writes on Inter-Church Aid; Rev. A. HENRY HETLAND, the compiler of the report on the student conference in Strassburg, is Executive Secretary of the Division of College and University Work of the National Lutheran Council in Chicago; Rev. RODERICK FRENCH of the Youth Department of the World Council and Pastor ARMIN BOYENS of Hamburg wrote on the Youth Conference in Lausanne from the American and the European standpoint respectively.

Contributors to "Lands and Churches" are: Pastor HENRIK HAUGE, Director of the "Norsk Mellomkirkelig Institutt" of the Norwegian Church in Oslo; PAUL GERHARD PAKENDORF, Superintendent of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synods in the Transvaal, Johannesburg; Pastor ALBERT GREINER, General-Secretary of the Association Générale de la Mission Intérieure de l'Eglise Evangélique Luthérienne de Paris, and IGOR KISS, pastor of the Slovakian Evangelical Church A.C.

Bishop D. NIKLOT BESTE, Schwerin, and Pastor Dr. Hans Bolewski, Loccum bei Hannover, wrote the book reviews.

We are grateful to Dr. H. Rösel, Marburg, for his translation into German of the article by Igor Kiss on "Cordatus, Reformer of Central Slovakia" and to Pfarrer Dr. Gerhard Hammann, Bottendorf über Frankenberg|Eder for editing this version.

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LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

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Biblical Theology

KLEINE SCHRIFTEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES VOLKES ISRAEL (*Essays on the History of the People of Israel, Volume 3*). By Albrecht Alt. Edited by Martin Noth. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959. xii, 496 pp. Cloth DM 35.—, Paper DM 31.—.

The studies which are included in this volume are mainly historical works. Three of the essays concentrate on important events in the history of Syria (*Der Rhythmus der Geschichte Syriens und Palästinas im Altertum 1944; Völker und Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum 1936; Die syrische Staatenwelt vor dem Einbruch der Assyrier 1934*). However, individual questions are also dealt with in a full and comprehensive manner, whether they deal with the history of various territories or with political and sociological questions. Ancient Egyptian sources provide the basis for the topographical investigations which deal with pre-Israelite Canaan (*Die asiatische Gefahrenzone in den Achtungstexten der 11. Dynastie 1927; Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. 1941; Das Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen an der phönikischen Küste und im syrischen Binnenland 1950*). The content of these essays is separated from that of the five "Beiträgen zur historischen Geographie und Topographie des Negeb" (1931-1938) and the essay "Barsama" (1929), which deals with southern Palestine in the late post-Christian era, by two centuries.

The essay on the location of the palace of Ramneses (*Die Deltasidenz der Ramnesiden, 1954*) and a few other essays (*Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neueren Sicht, 1954; Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenophis' IV, 1924; Hettitische und ägyptische Herrschaftsordnung in unterworfenen Gebieten, 1949*) belong to the realm of political-historical studies. Sociological and cultural problems

are dealt with in 4 further essays (*Eine neue Provinz des Keilschriftrechtes, 1947; Hohe Beamte in Ugarit, 1953; Menschen ohne Namen, 1950; Zelte und Hütten, 1950*).

Six of the essays deal specifically with Israel and the Old Testament world. The theme of some of these essays is the two centers in the history of Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria. These give rise to interesting comparisons. Both archeological questions (*Archäologische Fragen zur Baugeschichte von Jerusalem und Samaria in der israelitischen Königszeit, 1955/1956; Das Taltor von Jerusalem, 1928*) as well as political questions concerning the history of these two cities (*Jerusalems Aufstieg, 1925; Der Stadtstaat Samaria, 1954*) receive exhaustive treatment. An essay which has yet not been published (*Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda, 1955*) introduces us to further problems in the realm of sociology and the history of culture. The results of this method of research achieve a certain consummation and verification in an exegetical essay on a passage from the prophet Micah (*Micah, 2, 1-5 ges anadamos in Juda, 1955*).

MULTIPURPOSE TOOLS FOR BIBLE STUDY. By Frederic W. Danker. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1960. XVIII, 289 pp. \$3.75.

This book, which was written by the professor of New Testament exegesis at Concordia Seminary (St. Louis), is intended as an introduction to the various aids to modern exegesis. At the same time the author hopes to encourage his students to take advantage of the various opportunities which Biblical research offers. He also presents a survey of the most interesting exegetical problems and tasks in our time which is written in a very fluid and easily readable style. Following an introduction to the use of the Concordance

and the Nestle Text, the Hebrew Old Testament and the Septuagint are dealt with. A short survey of the most important Old and New Testament grammars and lexicons follows. German literature in this field is taken into consideration to the same degree as is literature in the English language. The sections on Bible translations are very complete. Here the most important versions, from the Targums and the Septuagint to the "Revised Standard Version," are mentioned. A short outline of the history and main problems of archeology show the importance of this science for modern exegesis. A special section is devoted to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The book concludes with a short survey of the most important commentaries.

THE CONCEPT OF NEWNESS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Roy A. Harrisville. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 126 pp. \$9.50.

The young American theologian, Roy A. Harrisville, inspired either by the historical method in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch* or by Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament*, has investigated the New Testament meaning of the concept "new" (as *kainos* and *neos*), particularly since the respective article by Kittel seemed to him to be unsatisfactory. After a lexicographical survey he attempts to show the significance of "new" through various N. T. quotations. He always sees the "new" in relationship to eschatology; the "new" has four characteristics, continuity, contrast, finality and dynamics. The author develops the N. T. significance of the "new" by thoroughly investigating certain expressions in which the adjective "new" occurs, for example the New Covenant, the New Life, the New Creation, the New Heaven and the New Earth. He comes to the conclusions that the idea of the "new" runs through the entire N. T. and that "new" is a decisive characteristic of the kerygma; the concept of "new" stands or falls with the eschatological aspect of the kerygma. From this perspective it seems to him to be possible to contrast and to combine certain statements and elements of the N. T. proclamation which up till now have been viewed as disparate or perhaps even opposing elements.

DIE BOTSCHAFT JESU — DAMALS UND HEUTE. (*The Message of Jesus, Then*

and Now). By Ethelbert Stauffer. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1959. *Dalp Taschenbücher*, Vol. 333. 215 pp. DM 3.80.

In this volume the author has set himself the task of presenting only *one part* of Jesus' message and that is the message of Jesus on the *new morality*, because these questions are the most important, not only in our eyes but also according to Jesus. Starting with a sharp contrast between the message of Jesus and the main ideas of the Qumran movement, the author develops the new ethical conceptions of Jesus as "morality without obedience" and he further develops Jesus' attitude in regard to the law and finally discusses basic ethical problems (love of one's neighbour, community established by common work or common need, and man and wife, etc.).

In this presentation, which is provided with detailed footnotes, the author particularly attempts to stress the contemporary significance of Jesus' message.

**DER MENSCHENSOHN IN DER SYN-
OPTISCHEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG** (*The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*). By Heinz Eduard Tödt. (Carl Bertelsmann Stiftung.) Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1959. 332 pp. DM 9.80.

According to the author, the Son of Man statements in the synoptic Gospels fall into three groups which differ from one another according to content and historical tradition: the statements about Christ's suffering (for example, the prophesies of the Passion in Mark) and the statements concerning Christ's authority (for example Mark 2¹⁰, Matthew 11¹⁹ and Luke 6²²). On the one hand both of these groups refer to the earthly Jesus although they also have a direct Christological significance and must therefore be regarded as post-Easter affirmations of the primitive Christian church. In contrast to this, the third group contains the so-called statements of the parousia of the Son of Man (for example Mark 8³⁸, Matthew 24²⁷), a transcendent figure entirely different from the earthly Jesus who is speaking, the coming guarantor of salvation, who will judge men according to their relationships to just this earthly Jesus. These statements, which are characterized by promises of salvation or, as the case may be, by threats of destruction,

have no Christological but merely a soteriological significance in the mouth of Jesus. For this reason they can, in all probability, be regarded as the actual words of the historical Jesus. The decisive question now is: What caused the transformation from the soteriological form of statements about the parousia to the Christological form of statements concerning Jesus' authority and suffering? Tödt sees the solution in the Resurrection event in which the primitive church acknowledges its risen Lord as identical with the Son of Man. Moreover, it ascribes the title "Son of Man" to the earthly Jesus himself, in this way interpreting both his specific authority as well as his specific passion, that is, the paradox of his simultaneous exaltation and humiliation. Thereby the words of the earthly Jesus retain their authority for the primitive church. Its Christology, which is determined by the Resurrection event, itself provides the continuity with the earthly Jesus' message, which is one of the main topics of contemporary theology.

EVANGELIEN AUS DEM NILSAND. (*Gospels from the Sands of the Nile*)—By Willem Cornelis van Unnik. (With an essay "Genuine Words of Jesus?" by Johannes B. Bauer and with an epilogue "The Editing of the Coptic-Gnostic Writings of Nag'Hammadi" by Walter C. Till. Frankfurt-am-Main: Verlag Heinrich Scheffler, 1960. 223 pp. DM 16.80.

In contrast to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 which received considerable notice and which still today claims the interest of a large group concerned with their publication and evaluation, the no less significant discovery in 1945 of a Gnostic library in the Coptic language at the upper Egyptian site Nag'Hammadi has up till now received relatively little attention. Because of great political difficulties the editing of the texts themselves dragged along, which greatly limited its evaluation by scholars. In the light of this situation it is doubly gratifying that with the publication of this book the finds of Nag'Hammadi have at least been made available to the German reading public. The introductory chapters introduce the reader to the history of the findings and to their religious background, Gnosticism, thus showing the significance of these forty-nine

writings for research on this movement which was so dangerous to the early church. Then the most important of these writings are discussed; the gospel of Thomas, the gospel of the Truth, the apocryphal book of John and the apocryphal book of Jacob, the texts of which, with the exception of the last, are included in the appendix in German translation. The essay by J. B. Bauer shows that the search for the genuine words of the historical Jesus in the gospel of Thomas is, to be sure, not very rewarding but it does serve to provide a clear picture of the Christ of Gnosticism.

Historical Theology

THE BOOK OF CONCORD, THE CONFESSIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH. *Translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert in collaboration with Jaroslav Pelikan, Robert H. Fischer, Arthur C. Piepkorn.* Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press 1959. 717 pp. \$7.50.

This new edition of the Book of Concord is the first major edition of its kind to appear in English since 1921. The text is based on the critical edition of Hans Lietzmann *et al.* (*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, Göttingen, 1952). The translations of the several documents are made from the original language, and variant readings from the Latin or the German are listed in footnotes. In the case of the Augsburg Confession there is a full translation of the document in both Latin and German. All of the translations are completely redone. The intention of the group of scholars who collaborated in this effort was to bring out a critically accurate and linguistically readable English edition of the Book of Concord.

DIE KÖNIGSHERRSCHAFT JESU CHRISTI BEI LUTHER (*The Kingship of Christ according to Luther*). (*Theologische Arbeiten, Band XII*). By Gottfried Forck. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959. 210 pp. DM 10.80.

Luther's theology has its particular emphases. This dissertation is concerned with one of these. Here the whole problematic of the Lutheran doctrine of the two "Realms" is

hidden behind the subject "The Kingship of Christ" which the author presents in thesis fashion. The material is arranged in six chapters of varying amplitude. The first three chapters (pp. 15-49) deal with Luther's Christological statements (I the person of Christ, II the kingship of Christ during his humiliation, III the exaltation and his coming to judge the world). The fourth and fifth chapters (pp. 50-84, 89-149) present an exhaustive interpretation of the sources, including many of Luther's sermons, systematically arranged according to topics. Chapter IV deals with the "kingship of Christ in the universal but hidden rule of God in the world" (p. 50), which God to be sure created, but which "the Devil has disrupted" (p. 151) and which God maintains "till the Last Judgment for the sake of the gospel" (p. 59 ff., 151). The fifth chapter develops "the spiritual rule of Christ or Christ's special kingship through the gospel which bears testimony to itself in the act of proclamation." The sixth chapter (pp. 150-155) contains a summary which is followed by footnotes and a bibliography.

KIRCHEN IN DER WELT (*Churches of the World—A Study of Various Confessions*). By Jan Hermelink. Stuttgart-Gelnhausen: Verlagsgemeinschaft Burckhardthaus und Kreuzverlag, 1959. 238 pp. DM 9.80.

The purpose of this volume is not so much to serve as a standard work in theology as it is to give the reader helpful information about other churches and to introduce him to their lives and teachings. In the first part the author deals with the great divisions in church history, whereby he concludes that there was no "unity in the first century." The author regards the origin of the episcopal office in the "early Catholic church" as a surprising development. He reports on doctrinal controversies in the ancient church and on the various divisions in the Reformation with special emphasis upon "the left wing." The second part deals with confessional groups. There are concise articles on the Orthodox Church, the Roman Church, the Anglican Church, the Free Churches and various movements (Brotherhoods, Quakers and Darbyists). The Church of South India is given special treatment. In the third part, "Churches on the Way," the author first of all investigates the various forms of the church, the state church, the folk church, etc. and

then he concludes by tracing the roots of the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches as well as the world confessional organizations.

A CENTURY OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN. By Charles W. Iglehart. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1959. 384 pp., \$4.00.

This is the only inclusive history of Protestant Christianity in Japan, covering the course of its hundred year history. Dr. Charles Iglehart, now retired, was respected senior Methodist missionary in Japan, prominent in the *Kyodan* and the National Christian Council of that country. The new volume supersedes Cary's valuable two-volume *A History of Christianity in Japan*, which covers only the first half-century of Protestant growth. Together with Winburn Thomas' *Protestant Beginnings in Japan*, also published in 1959 by Tuttle, it adds greatly to our store of available information concerning Protestant growth in that country.

Iglehart's style makes for easy reading, and his interpretation is at all times irenic and generous. An absence of documentation limits the scholarly value of this work, but this is partially compensated for by the detailed topical index which greatly increases the reference value of the work. Six major chapters deal with Japanese background, Protestant beginnings, growth of a modern nation state, expansion to empire, war and occupation, and post-war renewal in the church.

DIE TAUFABSAGE (*The Abrenunciation in Baptism—a study on the form and history of baptism according to the baptismal liturgies of the ancient church*). By Hans Kirsten. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt (Joh. Hermann-Zwickau), 1959. 150pp. DM 14.50.

This study, which Kirsten completed by 1952 except for a few literature references, meets an evident lack in the research on the early forms and the development of baptism. The author investigates approximately sixty different formulas of abrenunciation and their significance for baptism itself. Evidence shows that the *abrenunciatio diaboli* provides a key to the understanding of the baptismal rites, "perhaps even the key in the light of

the fact that studies of none of the other central acts such as the confession of faith at baptism, the act of immersion or the baptismal formula are able to give such a comprehensive and clear picture of the baptismal rites and their significance as does a study of the abrenunciation with its tortuous fate alternating between degeneration and renewal" (p. 134). An investigation of this act in the baptismal process shows how the church throughout the ages understood baptism. Important is the fact that Luther intuitively freed baptism from the distortions of exorcism and restored it to the form which it had according to the earliest records.

QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER TÄUFER (*Sources for the History of the Anabaptists, Vol. 7. Alsace, Part 1 Strassbourg 1522-1532*) (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte Bd. XXVI*). Ed. by Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gerd Mohn, 1959. 599 pp. DM 57.00.

The Strassbourg records owe their special significance to the fact that at no other place during the Reformation period were such thorough studies of all shades of the Anabaptist movement conducted as at Strassbourg. In this volume the reader encounters almost all of the important names of the various branches which are in general lumped together under the title "Anabaptists." The many articles, letters and tracts show the serious concern of these circles for the realization of a truly evangelical church alongside of the chiliastic and enthusiastic ideas. On the other hand, they also show how the Strassbourg reformers, above all Martin Bucer, made an attempt to take the position of the "Anabaptists" seriously, to win them back into the church so that their critique might bear fruit within the church.

The editors, who were able to refer back to a preliminary work by W. Köhler and J. Adam, have attempted to present as complete a selection of source materials as possible. An excellent preface introduces the unique nature of the Strassbourg history of the Anabaptists and the status of present-day research in this area. This volume, which represents years of scholarly work, is a source book which deserves respect in the field of research on the Reformation and the Anabaptists.

LUTHER'S WORKS, American Edition. Vol. 9. Lectures on Deuteronomy. Ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan. Transl. by Richard R. Caemmerer. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1960. IX, 334 pp. \$6.00.

This volume follows the critical text of Luther's own transcription of his lectures on Deuteronomy. Occasional parallels to Luther's lectures of 1523 and 1532 are included in the footnotes. The original Latin text was translated by Richard R. Caemmerer, Professor of Practical Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. Biblical quotations follow the Revised Standard version. The Topical Index and the Index to Scripture Passages were compiled by Walter A. Hansen.

WEGE DER CHRISTENHEIT (*Paths of Christianity. Selections from Church History.*) By Conrad Willem Mönnich. Stuttgart-Gelnhausen: Verlagsgemeinschaft Burkhardtshaus und Kreuzverlag, 1960. 239 pp. DM 9.80.

A work on church history has now been published in the series "*Handbücherei des Christen in der Welt*," the third volume of which (Jan Hermelink: *Kirchen in der Welt*) has already been mentioned in this Literature Survey. To be sure, this is no church history in the traditional and usual style but it is written from one particular perspective: "*Wege der Christenheit*" (Paths of Christianity). The church is viewed as "the new people of God, journeying through the old world towards the promised land of God's future." (p. 7). Eschatology is the standard according to which this church history is written. A great deal of space is devoted to the history of the ancient church. The first five chapters deal with the development of Christianity during the first five centuries from the following perspectives: the relationship of Christianity to its world, the disrupting effect which it had on the secular order because it was an eschatological fellowship (p. 24), how the church developed its own norms and standards (its dogma), and how it was transformed from a church of martyrs into a state church by the Edict of Milan. The two chapters devoted to the Middle Ages bear the titles "The Christianization of Europe" and "Scholasticism," thus showing the emphasis of the author. He views the Reformation as a strug-

gle against misuses but also as a protest against a church which had become a sacred institution. In his opinion the contribution of Calvinism lies in its emphasis upon the life of the church as the wandering people of God, the "not yet" of life. "This is the background of the idea of theocracy" (p. 200) which he finds more strongly emphasized in Calvinism than in Lutheranism. "Modern church history" is presented in one chapter as a break-through from the positions which had become entrenched ever since the 16th century.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AMONG NORWEGIAN AMERICANS. *A History of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church.* By E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. Vol. I: XIX, 357 pp.; Vol. II, XIX, 379 pp. \$12.50.

This comprehensive work, whose authors are professors at "Luther Theological Seminary," St. Paul, Minnesota, was written, so to speak, on the eve of the merger of the "Evangelical-Lutheran Church" (E.L.C.) which is comprised of various Norwegian groups, with other Lutheran bodies. Its description of the complicated history of Norwegian Lutherans in the USA serves at the same time as a survey of the heritage which the E.L.C. brings to the new TALC (The American Lutheran Church). This book, with its narrative text, pictures, tables, maps and, above all, with the constitutions and doctrinal statements which are given in the appendices, comprises a comprehensive documentation of Norwegian Lutheranism in America. The first chapter begins with the history of the church in Norway, wherein particular attention is paid to such personalities as Hans Nielsen Hauge and Elling Eielsen. Chapter 3 describes the founding of the various synods and Chapter 4 presents a survey of theology, mission work and union efforts before 1890. The three main sections of Vol. II deal with the controversy over theological education (the Augsburg Controversy) which led to further divisions between 1890 and 1900, the various stages in the movements towards church unity in the 20th century and, parallel to this, the development from a "Norwegian church" to an "American church" of ecumenical breadth.

ORTHODOXIE UND PIETISMUS (*Orthodoxy and Pietism.* Valentin Ernst Löscher's "Timotheus verinus" in the Controversy with the School of August Hermann Francke"). (By Hans-Martin Rotermund. *Theologische Arbeiten Bd. XIII*). Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959. 122 pp. DM 7.50.

In this study the Göttingen theologian, H.-M. Rotermund, who is well-known as a Rembrandt scholar, gives an insight which has been lacking up till now into V. E. Löscher's position in regard to Pietism. He outlines the development of research in this field from M. v. Engelhardt, Tholuck, H. Schmid, A. Ritschl (a critical approach is taken towards Ritschl) down to the present day. This study deals with Löscher's central theme, his position in regard to Pietism, and provides a key to the theological content of Löscher's main work the "Vollständigen Timotheus verinus," which is generally regarded as Orthodoxy's last word on Pietism. In the first part the doctrinal differences between Orthodoxy and Pietism, as portrayed in the source on hand, are dealt with in the following order: "Faith and the Word of God," "Justification by Faith and Christian Perfection," and "The Church and its Various Forms." Each doctrinal section is documented by source materials for further orientation and at the same time by references to Löscher's opponent, Joachim Lange. A second part presents a picture of Pietism as an historical phenomenon, according to Löscher's judgement.

MELANCHTHON. By Robert Stupperich. *Sammlung Göschen, Band 1190.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1960. 139 pp. DM 3.60.

On the 400th anniversary of Melanchthon's death, a small biography has appeared, written by the editor of *The Selected Works of the Reformer* and professor of church history at the University of Münster, Westfalen. In a limited space the author gives an account of Melanchthon's life which was far more important in the development of the Lutheran Church than previous literature about him has evidenced. Melanchthon, who was largely responsible for giving prominence to the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, is described here mostly in terms

of his relation to the important negotiations which took place not only at the Reichstag in Augsburg but also throughout the years to come. His attitude toward his Roman Catholic opponents as well as to the criticism which came from Lutheran circles themselves is described. Thus Melancthon is presented as a man who was a controversial personality both during his own lifetime and in the theological evaluation of the succeeding centuries. Nevertheless, the author is keen to emphasize Melancthon's specific contribution to the history and the theology of the Lutheran Church as well as his influence upon his contemporaries as a humanist who was widely respected beyond the borders of his own country.

DIE STIMME DER STILLEN (*The Voice of the Silent Ones—Testimonies from Pietism and the Revival Movements*). Ed. by Otto Weber and Erich Beyreuther. Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1959. 351 pp. DM 19.80.

This book offers the reader characteristic, personal testimonies from Pietism and the Revival Movements. According to the foreword by O. Weber, it is not meant as an historical source-book, but rather as a "reader for today." With this book the editors hope to counter the widespread misconception that the only way to the modern era is through the Reformation; the way also leads through Pietism and the Revival Movements. In making their selection, the editors have concentrated above all on devotional literature which is here presented in historical sequence. The selection covers works from Mysticism to the Reformation to the Present. This imposing selection of approximately ninety-four excerpts covers writings by Tauler († 1361) to Otto Schmidt († 1957). The excerpts are prefaced by Biblical texts and some of them conclude with hymn verses reflecting the spirit of the passage.

DIE BEDEUTUNG DER ALT-TESTAMENTLICHEN HISTORIEN IN JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACHS KANTATEN. (*The Significance of the Old Testament Histories in J. S. Bach's Cantatas*). By Helene Wertheimann (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Hermeneutik Bd. 3*). Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960. VIII, 184 pp. DM 18.80.

This work attempts to show that the Cantatas, Oratorios and Passions of Bach are not only the object of musical analysis; they belong in the history of Biblical hermeneutics. This is especially evident when they are seen in their liturgical relationship to "the course of the entire church year and the order of individual services of worship, that means above all to the Epistle and the Gospel lessons." In his texts Bach not only quotes O.T. passages but more than this he freely constructed recitatives and arias are based on O.T. images and allusions which serve to illustrate the N.T. events: here the O.T. is not only regarded as a promise, i.e. a portent of the New, but together with the N.T. comprises an equal part of the history of salvation. In the individual chapters of this book the content of the various O.T. images and motifs is investigated, beginning with Adam and the Fall. Further chapters are devoted to the motifs "Jacob—Israel," "Israel and Egypt," "Israel in the Wilderness," "Moses and the Law," and finally "Elijah's Ascent into Heaven." In this last section many beautiful things are said about the joys of eternal life, a recurring theme in Bach's cantatas.

Systematic Theology

GLAUBEN UND VERSTEHEN (*Faith and Understanding. Selected Essays Vol. 3.*) By Rudolf Bultmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960. 212 pp. DM 11.50 (Cloth DM 15.00).

Along with Bultmann's essay on the concept of revelation in the New Testament written in 1929 this volume of essays contains more recent writings which have been published in various journals during the last few years.

Most of the sixteen essays in this volume deal with special N.T. concepts and questions. However, the field of systematic theology is also strongly represented, as was the case in the two preceding volumes on *Glauben und Verstehen*, by themes such as *Wissenschaft und Existenz* (Science and Existence), *Allgemeine Wahrheiten und christliche Verkündigungen* (Universal Truths and Christian Proclamation) and *Das Befremdliche des christlichen Glaubens* (The Strangeness of the

Christian Faith). Essays such as those on *Das deutsche Volk und Israel* (The German Nation and Israel) and *Humanismus und Christentum* (Humanism and Christendom) show the range of Bultmann's theological thought, while his practical theological essays on *Echte und sekularisierte Verkündigung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Genuine and Secularised Preaching in the 20th century, and on the question *Ist voraussetzungslosen Exegese möglich?* (Is there such a thing as exegesis without presuppositions?) again stress Bultmann's concern to derive the proclamation from N.T. interpretation and exegesis. The majority of these essays deal implicitly with the question of de-mythologizing, which Bultmann treats in particular in the essay *Christliche Hoffnung und das Problem der Entmythologisierung* (Christian Hope and the Problem of De-mythologizing).

CHRISTIAN BAPTISM (*A Fresh Attempt to Understand the Rite in terms of Scripture, History, and Theology.*) Ed. A. Gilmore. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959. 343 pp. \$4.50.

British Baptist pastors such as the editor, the Rev. A. Gilmore of Northampton and the Rev. Neville Clark of Rochester working closely with school men, such as the Principal of Spurgeon's College, London; The Rev. G. R. Beasley-Murray, a Lecturer in New Testament Studies, University College of North Wales; the Rev. S. I. Buse; and the Rev. D. M. Himbury who is Principal of the Baptist College of Victoria, Melbourne, produced these biblical, historical and theological studies. They were designed to state the "believer's baptism" position in the context of contemporary, ecumenical discussions. "Baptism in Recent Discussion," by E. A. Payne, General Secretary of the Baptist Union, introduces the book. The thirteen papers move through Old Testament, New Testament, historical and theological materials.

One of the controlling concepts emerges in the discussion of the authority of Scripture and tradition. In a close study the Rev. S. F. Winward of London shows that "tradition" has its authority and norm in "apostolic tradition" which in turn is shown to be God manifest in Jesus Christ as the Living Word, the authority mediated through the Holy Scriptures.

The argument for believer's baptism does not hinge on Scriptural words such as βαπτίζω, but the argument turns on theological considerations of the atonement and the nature of Christ's Church.

Baptism initiates into the fullness of redemption, or the priority is always with God. The life of the incarnate is understood not in adoptionist Christology but in terms of *assumptio carnis*. This is regulative for the theology of baptism. Cullmann rather than Barth is followed in relating circumcision with Heilsgeschichte rather than racial succession. Baptism is a new initiatory into the fullness of Christ replacing circumcision. Incorporation into the fullness posits an inseparability of divine action and human response.

The study is at once a criticism of characteristic Baptist thinking about baptism and an apologetic for believer's baptism.

KYRKA OCH SOCIALETIK (*The Church and Social Ethics*). By Gunnar Hillerdal. Lund: CWK Gleerups Boksörlag, 1960. 118 pp. S. Kr. 6.75.

In this book Dr. Gunnar Hillerdal, lecturer on Theological Ethics at the University of Lund, outlines possible principles for the application of Christian social ethics to practical situations. Following an introductory section, he discusses the positions held by F. Naumann and K. E. Løgstrup and, contrary to their claim that a Christian social ethic is possible, he shows that such a solution to the problem is misleading. The author then attacks what he calls "unreflective Biblicism" as well as Karl Barth's Christological ethic with its method of analogy; he rejects both because they start with the presupposition that the Bible offers more or less finished solutions to the problems of our time. In the positive presentation which follows the author finds that a Christian social ethic can partly be derived from the general world view of the N.T. which is based on God's new creation as opposed to the destructive power of Satan which finds concrete expression in the law's claim upon man which is manifested in concrete situations, and partly also in the social ethical criteria and principles inherent in the view of man in the gospel, in the radicalization of the law's claim and in the liberation of man to selfless service and practical concern for his neighbour. All of this must of necessity find expression

in various areas of communal life, yet this does not mean that the church has finished solutions at hand for all of the problems which arise. Instead of this one must, starting with the principles here outlined, seek the best possible solution for the concrete social problems which occur, whereby the church must realistically take into account the necessity for compromise by seeking in every situation to bring to realization that which is possible and appropriate.

UM DEN RECHTEN GLAUBEN (*On the True Faith, Selected Essays*). By Hans Joachim Iwand. Ed. Karl Gerhardt Steck (*Theologische Bücherei, Bd. 9*). Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1959. 277 pp. DM 12.00.

These essays were selected from the writings of H. J. Iwand, Professor of Systematic Theology in Bonn, who died recently, by his friends and students on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Three groups of themes are represented here: a) Luther, b) basic questions concerning theology as a scientific study, c) the church and politics. Prominent among the Luther studies are the essays on *Problem des unfreien Willens* (Problem of un-free will). Here the author is mainly concerned with distinguishing between the "un-free will" and determinism. However he opposes the common, all too simple solutions according to which man's will is free from the philosophical perspective while from the theological, that is, when seen from God's perspective, man's will is not free. In contrast to this he shows that the will is nothing else than man's destiny seeking expression through his temporal existence; however, at the same time, the will is nothing more than man's ultimate individuality in the process of becoming (p. 60). Worthy of note is the critical discussion of Vol. I, 1 of Barth's *Kirchliche Dogmatik* from the year 1935, in which Iwand raises the question of the theology of God's Word: in his view there is a danger when the Word of God is no longer discussed in the context of and under the question of Law and Gospel. The essays on events in the church's life show the author to be a critical observer of the political situation in Germany. In his opinion the tendency of Germans to think in terms of a friend-enemy category is the basic evil in the contemporary political situation; he suggests the church should help to overcome this by her preach-

ing. To accomplish this, however, it is necessary, in his opinion, to ward against a strict confessionalism. The volume concludes with a bibliography of Iwand's works.

GRUNDLINIEN CHRISTLICHER ETHIK (*Basic Principles of Christian Ethics*). By Paul Jacobs. Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1959. 219 pp. DM 12.80.

The author is concerned here not with thinking through or proving various articles of Christian faith but with showing their truth and power in the practical life of men—with a "proof of its spirit and its power." According to the author, the absolute claim of Christianity is, for the sake of fulfilling the demands of Christ, an ethical claim. From this perspective he deals with the various areas of life, beginning each section with a short introduction in Christian ethics and anthropology. The section on "men under the law" contrasts with a chapter on "man and the fulfilment of the laws of Christ." In further chapters the author deals with questions of order and form, love and marriage, nation and state, profession and work, constantly bearing in mind the ethical problems which are involved in these themes.

KATHOLISCHE EINHEIT UND AUGSBURGER KONFESSION (*Catholic Unity and the Augsburg Confession*). By Max Lackmann. Graz-Wien-Köln: Verlag Styria, 1959. 224 pp. 60 Austr. sch.

This volume contains irenic addresses on the significance of the Augsburg Confession for the reunion of the divided churches which the author delivered before audiences in Germany and Austria. Any attempts towards re-union must take the Augsburg Confession into consideration because this confessional statement, in the opinion of the author, was basically intended as a catholic confession in as much as it acknowledged its affinity with traditional Roman Catholic faith and opposed ancient heresies and new "pseudo-Catholica." To be sure, he does find some "neo-Catholica" in the Augsburg Confession, namely doctrinal statements which were not present in just this form in the tradition but which nevertheless belong to the church as a whole insofar as they are an explication of the biblical truth. Among these he includes

the acknowledgement of the transforming, total and personal character of the act of justification, the polarity of law and gospel, the significance of faith for salvation, preaching as God's word spoken to man, the doctrine of true worship according to Romans 12:1, the concept of the ministry as the preaching ministry within the congregation, and, finally, repentance as total turn-about.

THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES. By Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Scribners, 1959. 306 pp. \$5.00.

This work is sub-titled, "A study of the recurring patterns and problems of the political order in relation to the unique problems of the nuclear age." Niebuhr's general thesis is that while history never repeats itself, our age may nevertheless learn a great deal from an historical analysis of the politics and political ethics of the past as the West faces the perils of a nuclear age while in all-out competition with the secular religion of communism. He first compares the ideological and economic structures of the two great "imperial nations" of our day, Russia and the United States. Then he traces the historical evolution of some of the great ancient and medieval nations and empires. With characteristic pessimism (and realism), he concludes that the nuclear threat of mutual annihilation may paradoxically provide just the motive for preventing it: "the preference for life over death." Western Christendom suffers (philosophically) from a false idealism (which subjugates state to church) as well as a false realism (which liberates the state from moral judgment). Coupled with this is the equally unsatisfactory political dichotomy between the vague universalism of the liberals and the national imperialism of the conservatives. Over against all this, Niebuhr finally analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet foreign policy and the general outlook of the cold war. Diplomatic flexibility, negotiating from a position of power, and the repudiation of national and cultural self-righteousness is his proposed stance for the West for a very precarious, indefinite future.

ESSAYS IN APPLIED CHRISTIANITY. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Selected and edited by D. B. Robertson. New York: Living Age

Books published by Meridian Books, 1959. 348 pp. \$1.45.

This paperbound collection of essays by Reinhold Niebuhr includes fugitive writings ranging in date from 1928 to 1957, most of which first appeared in *Christianity and Crisis* and *The Christian Century*. The collection was chosen to demonstrate that Professor Niebuhr, contrary to many of his critics, has repeatedly had much to say on the doctrine of the Church.

The essays have been grouped in five categories. 1) In the first category Niebuhr expresses antipathy for the subjective formlessness of Protestant worship; and in liturgical Protestantism he finds that the rich heritage of the liturgy alone saves us from the banalities and irrelevancies of the sermon. 2) In the area of moral leadership Niebuhr reminds the Church that it can lead society only when it subjects itself to the same kind of criticism that it brings to every other human institution. 3) The section on Barth presents Niebuhr's criticism that Barth's position does not represent sufficient "care of the world" on the part of the Church. 4) The section on the Catholic heresy shows that Niebuhr thinks Rome has neglected to examine herself. This is what the Scripture calls anti-Christ, "one who blasphemes against God by lifting himself above measure." 5) The final group of essays deals with the ecumenical movement in which Niebuhr warns against a new Catholicism: "What we need is a supernatural conscience in the church rather than an international organization."

SCHÖPFUNG UND ERLÖSUNG, Bd. II ERLÖSUNG (*Creation and Redemption, Vol. II Redemption*). By Regin Prenter. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1960. pp. 271-554. DM 14.50. (Both volumes cloth, DM 32.00).

The second volume of Prenter's dogmatics clearly shows, what was already implied in the title of the work as a whole and is already stated in the prolegomenon, that the author has broken with the classical division of dogmatics into creation, redemption, salvation, and with other traditional schema, and deals with his dogmatics from the perspective of creation and redemption. In his opinion these constitute a unity, whereby God's creative will and his act of salvation are both fulfilled in the redemption. Thus everything

which needs to be said about the Holy Spirit, the means of Grace, the church and Last Things can be subsumed under the title "The Redeemed Man." This is based upon his view of Christology. Decisive are his interpretations of incarnation and reconciliation which in the book follow his survey of the history of Christology. The author therewith shows that Christology is not, as it was regarded in the ancient church, in scholasticism and also in orthodoxy, the paradoxical union of elements which cannot be united, but the entrance of the Creator into his creation. The author develops his interpretation of reconciliation in connection with his treatment of the so-called "classical" doctrine of reconciliation of Athanasius. It is "God's redemptive act of power by which he overcomes all of the enemies of his creation." This "Christological dogma" (par. 31) is presented in a running commentary to modern docetism as it finds expression in the theology of R. Bultmann. The limits of Christology can only be resolved within the continuing conflict between faith and history. The chapter "The Redeemed Man" deals with that which traditional Protestant theology calls the *ordo salutis*, but which the author describes as "the sacramentally ordered life of the justified sinner engaged in a struggle of faith with sin on the way from baptism to death." Here the doctrines of baptism, communion, sanctification and the church are developed. In keeping with Preter's dogmatic approach, the Last Things are subsumed under this unity of God's creative and redemptive works and man's salvation as the renewal of life. The exaltation of Christ is the fruit of renewal and at the same time the ultimate revelation of God's creating and saving will. Certainly, eschatology gives no detailed description of life after death in the future world but it does cover the topics parousia, judgement and eternal life. In this dogmatic structure, eschatology acquires a decisive character: "hope in the resurrection and eternal life... is no individual item which can be omitted from the Christian message at will. It is much more a truth on which everything stands or falls."

FRÜHE HAUPTWERKE (*Early Works*). By Paul Tillich. (*Selected Works, Vol. 1, edited by Renate Albrecht.*) Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959. 436 pp. DM 32.60.

The present volume is the first in a proposed nine-volume German edition of the works of Paul Tillich. The volume begins with Tillich's licentiate thesis *Mystik und Schuldbewusstsein in Schellings Philosophische Entwicklung* (1912). In the foreword Tillich himself pays credit to the influence which his study of Schelling had upon his later thoughts. The essay *Das System der Wissenschaften nach Gegenständen und Methoden* (1923), "one of the most mature works in modern German systematic philosophy" (Em. Hirsch, 1926), follows. Here we find outlined the basic features of a "science of theonomy" which characterises Tillich's entire thought. The *Religionsphilosophie* (1925), which followed two years later and which is the third work included in this volume, represents the first stage in the development of this program. Here the leading ideas in Tillich's thought already find clear expression: the starting point according to which the nature of every spiritual act is understanding; from this follows the definition of the nature of religion as pointing towards the absolute which affirms that "religion is not one function among many of the human spirit, but the experience of the absolute in all other functions" (p. 10); from this follows the definition of the relationship between religion and culture: "culture is an expression of religion and religion is the content of culture" (p. 329); the representation of the absolute in religious symbols; and finally, the description of the history of religions with its normative apex in the religion of paradox and grace. The fourth writing included in this volume is the essay which was already written in 1922 *Die Überwindung des Religionsbegriffs in der Religionsphilosophie*, which in Tillich's own words "is an attempt to see my own thought in historical perspective" (p. 10). The volume concludes with a complete bibliography (1910-1959).

THE CONCEPT OF GRACE. *Essays on the Way of Divine Love in Human Life.* By Philip S. Watson. Philadelphia: Mühlenberg Press, 1959. 116 pp. \$2.000.

Concepts change their meaning just as coins change their values. After beginning with an investigation of the Pauline concept of grace, where wrath and grace are seen as expressions of divine love, the next three chapters present the reality of grace in bap-

tism, justification, and the work of the Holy Spirit according to Biblical theology. The fifth chapter shows the connection with, and agreement between, the New Testament concept of grace and the dogma of the Early Church as it is set forth in its credal statements, as well as the distortions of the concept of grace in some recent theological endeavors. Then the development of the doctrine of grace in historical theology is investigated from Tertullian via St. Augustine and the Scholastics to Luther's reformation of the doctrine of grace. The subtitles in this section are: grace as an infused power, grace contrasted with nature, grace combined with merit, grace mediated sacramentally, grace and free will. The final chapter attempts to show how, on the basis of the Christian experience, we are able to perceive God's gracious activity in creation, in Christ, and in the church.

A treatment of the relationship between law and grace is missing. Essentially, grace is "the redemptive activity of God in Christ." Justification, in view of man's future sanctification, is rejected as a "thinly disguised legalism." The author of *Let God be God*, soon to be a professor at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, gives in these popular essays a concise presentation of the heart of evangelical Christianity.

Practical Theology

DIE KIRCHENGEMEINDE IN SOZIOLOGISCHER SICHT (*The Congregation in Sociological Perspective*). By Justus Freytag. Hamburg: Furcht Verlag, 1959. 126 pp. DM 13.80.

A wealth of sociological studies on the position of the church has been published within the last few years. With this book the author attempts to give a critical summary of the various perspectives of these individual studies. The "churchliness" of the present day is very thoroughly investigated: the individual social strata, the local social structure, attendance at worship and participation in church organizations, the relationship of women to the church, the proportion of church members in the population, constitute the themes of the subsections. This selection shows the scope of these studies, which have acquired great significance in this age of rapid social change.

KIRCHE UND RECHT (*Church and Law*). (On the occasion of the 70th birthday of Johannes Heckel.) Ed. Siegfried Grundmann. Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1959. IX, 360 pp. DM 27.00.

The sixteen essays which his students and friends have dedicated to the well-known Munich Professor of Church Law, Johannes Heckel, who is above all known for his studies on church law in the field of Luther research, deal with eight topics (including civil law, laws governing church-state relationships, Protestant ecclesiastical law, Catholic ecclesiastical law, theology, and denominational studies). Theodor Maunz writes on the state and schools in constitutional law and Giuseppe Forchielli contributes an essay on ecclesiastical and civil law. An essay by Erwin Jacobi shows how in the D.D.R. the right of the churches to levy church taxes was undermined by the refusal of the state to insist upon the obligatory nature of these taxes. How the attempt of the Nazi regime in Austria to fight against and to destroy the church through a law governing contributions to the church worked to its advantage is investigated by Willibald M. Pöchel. Under the theme "Protestant ecclesiastical law" there are two historical essays (Richard Bäuml, *Naturrecht und obrigkeitliches Kirchenregiment bei Wolfgang Musculus* and Sven Kjöllnerström, *Gustav Vasa und die Bischofsweihe*) as well as two essays on contemporary problems in ecclesiastical law (Siegfried Grundmann, *Sacerdotium—Ministerium—Ecclesia Particularis* and Rudolf Smend, *Grundsätzliche Rechtsbeziehungen der Landeskirchen untereinander*). The two essays on Protestant ecclesiastical law are also historical studies (Philip Hofmeister OSB, *Die Verfassung des Oratoriums des heil. Philippus Neri* and Friedrich Merzbacher, *Johann Oldendorp und das kanonische Recht*). The first of the theological essays (Theodor Heckel, *Die Reform des Kirchenrechts und die Reformen der Kirche*) deals with the influence and the significance of research in ecclesiastical law for the Lutheran concept of the church and for church reforms. Ernst Kinder (*Luthers Ableitung der geistlichen und weltlichen Oberkeit aus dem 4. Gebot*) shows that Luther's doctrine of the two realms is derived not only from the duality and opposition of these two realms but also from the fact that they coincide and that they even share common roots. Ernst Wolf (*Christum*

habere omnia Mosis) throws new light on Luther's understanding of the law. Under the theme "Denominational Studies", Julius Bodensieck offers an essay on the Mormons and Martin Schmidt shows how the principles of the proclamation of the word and pastoral counseling have had an effect upon the legal realm in post-Reformation church organization through John Wesley and the Methodist movement (*John Wesley als Organisator der methodistischen Bewegung*). The volume concludes with a bibliography of Heckel's works.

GOD IN THE SPACE AGE. By Martin J. Heineken. Philadelphia and Toronto: The John C. Winston Company, 1959. 216 pages with Index, \$3.50.

Dr. Heineken, Professor of Systematic Theology at The Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, discusses four questions which he sees arising out of the advent of the space age. What is the relationship between science and religion? Will man discover God and heaven in outer space? What if there are living beings on other planets? To whom will the planets and airways belong? The answers of 7 leading American Protestant churchmen to the same questions are recorded and evaluated. Dr. Frederick A. Schiotz, President of The Evangelical Lutheran Church, is included among these. Dr. Heineken's own answer is generally that the space age presents God-given challenges which must be pursued but that nothing really will be changed since the crises character of man's existence lies within himself. There will be, however, opportunities to use the new age to help solve some of the important problems here on earth such as war and peace, poverty and plenty. Coupled with these possibilities is the warning that these new powers in man's hands are potent for evil as well as for good and that the space age calls for repentance.

THE MEANING OF WORSHIP. *The Lyman Beecher Lectures for 1958.* By Douglas Horton. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. 152 pp. \$2.75.

This is no liturgical commentary or inter-leaved prayer book. Writing out of his background as a prominent leader of the Congregational Church, Dean Horton of Harvard

Divinity School is concerned with more fundamental issues. The titles of the five sections of the book ("Worship As Response to A Divine Invasion," "Form and Essence," "Various Dimensions," "Within the Parish," and "Ecumenicity") reflect the scope of the author's inquiry. Proceeding from the proposition that worship—the very sustenance of the individual—is an end in itself he treats of the means whereby this is achieved. Symbols, e.g., the sacraments, are the accompaniment of worship which correspond to the object of worship "as the worshiper understands that object. Worship is always a three-fold encounter—God, man, and man's brother-worshiper, and all psychological and sociological considerations fall into focus in the relationship between church and the worshipers.

This relationship, expanded into the life of the parish and ultimately to the entire Church—particularly regarding the problems of intercommunion and ministerial order—encourages the author to hope that it is through worship, properly understood, that the unification of the church can be effected.

KYRKAN OCH DIAKONIN (*The Church and Diaconal Work*). By Henrik Ivarsson. Lund: CWK Gleerups Bokförlag, 1959. 58 pp. S. Kr. 3.60.

Starting with the N.T. texts which describe Jesus' miracles of healing and which at the same time provide texts for sermons, the author maintains that preaching itself should lead to diaconal work. Ever since the commissioning of the apostles the church has two main functions: evangelism and diaconal work, word and deed, for the gospel has to do not only with the soul but also with the body. While the diaconal task was often overshadowed by liturgical activities in the pre-Reformation era, there was a distinct tendency in the churches of the Reformation to absorb diaconal work under evangelism and to view the latter as the one essential task of the church. After a basic survey the author in a second section discusses the situation and possibilities of diaconal work in the modern welfare state with its enormous development in social work. Is there a place here for diaconal work as carried out by the church? The author answers this question in the affirmative, stressing thereby that church and secular social work need not

conflict with one another. One of the tasks of the church is to train and inspire men and this personal concern represents a particular perspective within social work. Added to this is the fact that the church itself, and this is especially true of the individual congregation, must become the subject of diaconal work. This finds expression in its concern for the lonely, the forgotten, the sick and the aged. In this connection the author lists the needs, the possibilities and the often neglected areas of work to which diaconal work in the individual congregations can address itself.

MISSION OCH EKUMENIK (*Mission and Ecumenicity*). (*Missionsforskningsinstitutets Serie 16*). By Nils Karlström. Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1960. 287 pp. Sw. Kr. 15.00.

The author is a well-known historian of the ecumenical movement and Dean of the Cathedral in Skara. In this book, which was presented to the clergy of his diocese, the author reviews the developments which have now led to the question of integration between the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches.

The first chapter deals with the development of "a missionary ecumenicity." The history begins with the Edinburg meeting of 1910, continues through the creation of the International Missionary Council and leads up to the present day discussions on the relation between the *mission* and the church, or, as the author puts it, "the growth of the concept of the church within missionary ecumenicity." The second chapter describes the development of "churchly ecumenicity" which led to the creation of the World Council of Churches through the two movements, Faith and Order and Life and Work. The author discusses the relation of the church and the mission, or, in his own words, "the growth of the concept of missions within the churchly ecumenicity."

The remaining chapters deal with the co-operation between the two ecumenical organizations and the plans for integration, as well as the pros and cons of such integration.

The book is a competent guide to the present day ecumenical situation as it has arisen out of the history of the concern for unity among Christians. It is one of the very few presentations of the history of the ecumenical

movement which can be found within a single volume, and it will be helpful to have it in translation.

DIE NEUORDNUNG DER TRAUUNG (*The Reorganization of the Wedding Ceremony*). By Christhard Mahrenholz. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus Herbert Renner, 1959. 79 pp. DM 5.80.

The well-known liturgics scholar, C. Mahrenholz, here gives a commentary on the discussions of the Lutheran Liturgical Conference in Germany on the order of the marriage service. In a survey on the marriage contract and the wedding ceremony up to the 16th century the author shows how the church wedding gradually developed. However, the attempt to bring three heterogeneous elements, the vows, the benediction and the pronouncement of marriage, into proper relationship with one another did not succeed. For Luther the church wedding is an act of benediction, and this is a point which we must take up anew today. While the Roman Catholic church has not included the actual pronouncement since 1673, it is still present in most of the present-day Lutheran orders for the marriage ceremony. This, according to the author, is a sign of theological ambiguity which especially contradicts the legitimate practice of the civil marriage ceremony. Furthermore, the author gives an explanation of the revised order of marriage which is based upon the *mandatum Dei* in the Scriptures; here the blessing, as commending the couple to one another in the name of God, constitutes the central act of the service. The book concludes with a copy of the present version of the order for marriage.

THE NEW SHAPE OF AMERICAN RELIGION. By Martin E. Marty, New York: Harper, 1959. 180 pp. \$3.50.

The author, an associate editor for *Christian Century* and a pastor of a Lutheran church in suburban Chicago, discusses the new factors which are shaping the life of the American community and the problems which the church must face in this era. Such theological and sociological issues as the rise of Catholic prestige, the decline of the "Social Gospel," suburban conformity, religious revival and the insecurity of American prot-

estantism as a cultural force are discussed. On the basis of his analysis the author challenges the Protestant churches to the task of rethinking their role in American life and to formulating what he calls a "culture ethic."

DAS PROTESTANTISCHE EUROPA (*Protestant Europe*). By Roger Mehl. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag. 127 pp. Sw. Fr. 8.20.

This survey on the "political vitality" of the Protestant churches in Europe is a translation of a French work by the Strassbourg theologian, Roger Mehl. Following Part I, *Der Protestantismus und Die Europäische Idee*, the various Protestant churches of Europe, most thoroughly the German churches, are examined from the above-mentioned perspective. This provides a comprehensive view of the life of the individual churches and their influence upon public opinion. The conclusion lists a number of traits which the churches have in common. Particular attention is given to their moderate, but yet very positive, attitude toward European unity. One would have to admit that this is at least true for the attitude of French Protestantism. It is too bad that the book suffers in translation.

INVITATION TO WORSHIP. By Clifford Ansgar Nelson. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Press, 1960. 178 pp. \$3.00.

This book starts from the presupposition that Lutheran worship is both catholic and apostolic because it shares in the rich historical heritage of the ancient and medieval church in both East and West. The author was a pastor in Minneapolis for twenty-five years and has recently gone to serve a congregation in Singapore. His book is written from a strictly practical standpoint and evidences a pastoral concern. It attempts to acquaint the Christian layman with the act of worship by relating the individual parts of the worship service to Holy Scripture and to human life. To be sure, it was meant to serve as an introduction to the new common service order in the Lutheran churches in America but it nevertheless takes Lutheran worship as such into consideration. It gives a step by step explanation of the various parts of the worship service, including a short survey of the historical background. Its main

emphasis, however, lies in the homiletical exposition of the elements in the worship service which, after each paragraph, is summarized in a hymn verse. The final chapter contains basic reflections on the nature of church music.

DER PROTESTANTISMUS IN UNSE-RER ZEIT (*Contemporary Protestantism, with a foreword by Bishop Wester, Schleswig*). By Regin Prenter. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959. 127 pp. DM 9.80.

This book, which is here translated into German, speaks to the concrete situation of the Danish folk church, which, to be sure, is officially Protestant in the sense of the Lutheran Reformation, although the majority of its people think along the lines of liberal, non-church Protestantism. In contrast to this, Prenter is concerned with the renewal of the original Reformation church-Protestantism. In clear and, in general, understandable language he tries to express in modern terms what justification through faith alone, what the true freedom of the Christian man, and what the evangelical church really are, and he succeeds in revitalizing the traditional concepts (faith, sin, dogma, ministry, etc.) which to a great extent have lost their meaning. This shows that one cannot argue against liberal Protestantism, which is the heritage of the enthusiasts, without at the same time differentiating between one's own interpretation of Christianity and the church and that of the church of Rome. This middle way between old and new enthusiasts on the left and Catholicism on the right characterizes the position of the Reformation churches within the ecumenical movement. According to Prenter, the future of the entire ecumenical movement depends on whether and how these "churches in the middle" see the responsibilities which their position lays upon them. This book has something essential to say to Protestantism on the whole, far beyond the confines of Denmark, and this fact justifies its translation into other languages.

JOHANN CHRISTOF BLUMHARDT UND DIE KIRCHLICHE SEELSORGE HEUTE (*Johann Christof Blumhardt and Pastoral Care Today*). By Joachim Scharfberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959. 132 pp. DM 14.70.

Since there is no unequivocal interpretation of Blumhardt's work, the author seeks to understand him from the point of view of his pastoral care and to raise the question as to what this could mean for modern pastoral care. Although they do not replace the Scriptures as the basis for his pastoral concern, the events and experiences of the Möttling revival are constitutive elements in Blumhardt's work. His pastoral work is based upon his view of man: man is threatened by demonic powers and he can only be helped by sharing in the resurrection victory of Christ and not by man alone. From this it is possible to hinder the break-up of pastoral care into various instances: the pastoral counsellor is an organ of God's saving will. Blumhardt did not develop methods of pastoral care. It does, however, have various elements: exhortation, admonition, confession, forgiveness of sins, and prayer. Its goal is to bring men to faith and commitment. In Blumhardt's opinion real pastoral care can only take place through the Holy Spirit. His task it is to transform men. Therefore real pastoral care can only be exercised by one having spiritual authority. Finally Blumhardt's pastoral care is characterized by the fact that it points men to the coming parousia, even though it is carried on under the conditions of human inadequacy. The pastor therewith deflects man from attempting to work out his own salvation. He also opposes a passive quietism. This dialectic reflects the true relationship between the law and the gospel.

SOZIOLOGIE DER KIRCHENGEMEINDE (*Sociology of the Congregation*). Ed.

Dietrich Goldschmidt, Ernst Greiner and Helmut Schelsky (*Soziologische Gegenwartsfragen—Neue Folge*). Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1960. VIII, 256 pp. DM 29.00.

This anthology, prompted by the Commission for Sociology of Religion of the German Sociological Society, is meant to give a representative cross-section view of the situation in which the social changes in the religious realm which are taking place in almost all Western countries find themselves. Although the sociological studies of the congregation and the relationship of the church to society were at first mainly carried out in the USA, France and Holland, they have attained an increasing significance in Germany during the last few years. The first part of this work presents a survey of the international status of the sociology of the congregation. Specially worthy of mention here is the essay by Paul Abrecht, Executive Secretary for the Commission on Church and Society in the World Council of Churches, who writes on Protestant sociology of religion in the USA, and that by Paul Goddijn, *Die Katholische Pfarrsoziologie in Westeuropa*. The second part contains sociological studies of German congregations. Here Reinhard Köster presents a summary of his book on *Die Kirchentreuen*. Walter Menges reports on the development of diaspora congregations in post-war Germany and comes to the conclusion "that the inter-mixing of the confessions throughout the whole country resulting from the migration of refugees not only breaks through a centuries old principle of separation by areas but also tends to a significant extent to reduce deep-rooted confessional opposition" (p. 170).

LITERATURE SURVEY is published as appendix to LUTHERAN WORLD by the Department of Theology, Lutheran World Federation, Director Dr. Vilmos Vajta. The contributors to this issue were: Horst Beintker, Greifswald; Edgar S. Brown, New York; David Granskou, New York; Theo Hauf, Flonheim/Rheinhausen; Kent S. Knutson, St. Paul, Minn.; Ernst W. Kohls, Münster/Westf.; Gerhard Krodol, Dubuque, Iowa; William H. Lazareth, Philadelphia; Lynn Leavenworth, New York; Per Erik Persson, Lund; Robert P. Roth, Columbus, S.C.; Jürgen Roloff, Geneva; James A. Scherer, Maywood, Ill.; Adolf Sperl, Munich; Vilmos Vajta, Geneva; Hans H. Weissgerber, Allendorf/Lahn; Klaus Zimmermann, Erlangen; Wolfram Zoller, Tübingen.

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